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Memoirs of the Poet Richard Glover, the Supposed Author o the Junius Letters, with much relating the French and Indian War, Major Geo. Washington of Virginia, etc.

95. [GLOVER, Richard]. Memoirs by a celebrated Literary a Political Character, from the Resignation of Sir Robt. Walpole, in 17 to the Establishment of Lord Chatham's 2nd Administration, in 17 London, 1814. $9

Interesting memoirs, the publication which has been occasioned sol by the diversity of opinion regarding the author of the Letters of Juni With interesting sidelights on the French & Indian War, the Towns Bros., Geo. Washington, etc.

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MEMOIRS

BY

A CELEBRATED LITERARY AND POLITICAL

CHARACTER.

London: Printed by C. Roworth,
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MEMOIRS

BY

A CELEBRATED

Literary and Political Character,

FROM

THE RESIGNATION OF SIR ROBERT WALPOLE,
IN 1742,

TO

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF LORD CHATHAM'S SECOND
ADMINISTRATION, IN 1757;

CONTAINING

STRICTURES

ON SOME OF THE MOST DISTINGUISHED MEN

OF THAT TIME.

BY

Richard Glover

A NEW EDITION.

Ed 1, 1813

LONDON,

PRINTED FOR JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.

1814.

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PREFACE.

THE publication of this Memoir has been occasioned solely by the diversity of opinion which has prevailed respecting the author of the Letters of JUNIUS, and from the failure of all who have laid claim to that distinction.

The Memoir is written by a celebrated character, and is only a part of a collection of papers which is now in the possession of his immediate descendant. He was the intimate associate of Chatham and the Grenvilles; at once possessed of literary reputation and an ample fortune, a Member of Parliament, and alike acquainted with public measures and ministerial intrigue.

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After the perusal of these pages the reader will be surprised, that among the numerous persons to whom the Letters of Junius have been attributed, the author of this Memoir was never named: and it is remarkable that he should have been overlooked, while the perspicacity of Horne Tooke and Wilkes, and the phalanx of politicians of his time, was exhausted in unavailing conjectures.

I will not pledge myself that he was Junius, but this I can safely say, that no one yet named, supported by facts, has any claim to stand in competition with him. This Memoir sufficiently marks his political relations; and numerous documents, long since before the public, might be adduced to strengthen and confirm them. One circumstance however I am authorized to mention, which will serve to shew in what estimation his political sagacity was held in his retirement in the decline

cline of life. During the Shelburne and Portland administrations in 1783, he was frequently visited privately by the late Marquis of Buckingham, then Lord Temple,* and closeted with him alone; his visits were always in the evening, and such was the privacy of these meetings that his name was not announced, and no servant was permitted to open the door when he left the house.

At some future time I hope to give a sketch of his character. At present I submit these pages to the public; valuable, at least, for the information they contain, if not as authority to establish a conjecture on a subject of peculiar literary interest.

* Eldest son of George Grenville; born April 17, 1753. First sate in the House of Commons 1774, succeeded to the titles of Earl Temple and Viscount Cobham on the death of his uncle, September 8, 1779. Created Marquis of Buckingham, November 3, 1787.

PREFACE

TO THE

SECOND EDITION.

THE original publication of this Memoir was only with a view to a literary question already explained. The Editor, therefore, in this Edition, has had no motive to make any considerable additions. His "Inquiry concerning the author of the Letters of Junius with reference to this Memoir," is now before the public. There are, however, two points which ought not to be passed over unnoticed. First, that Glover is said by those who may be supposed to have known him best, to have assumed in this Memoir an importance

which he by no means possessed: And secondly, that his intimacy with Lord Temple's family is over stated. To refute the first of these statements, it is only necessary to take a cursory review of Glover's political character as it stands upon record, of which this may serve as a sketch.

In the year 1739 he was the most popular man in the city, and by his influence, zeal, and eloquence, Sir George Champion was set aside from succeeding to the mayoralty. In the year 1745, Horace Walpole, writing to Lord H. Seymour Conway, sneers at Glover's city eloquence:—"I can't but think we were at least as happy and as great when all the young Pitts and Lytteltons were pelting oratory at my father for rolling out a twenty years peace, and not envying the trophies which he passed by every day in Westminster Hall. But one must not repine; rather reflect on the glories which they

they have drove the nation headlong into. One must think all our distresses and dangers well laid out when they have purchased us Glover's oration for the merchants; the Admiralty for the Duke of Bedford; and the reversion of secretary at war for Pitt." In 1744, Sarah the proud Duchess of Marlborough speaks of Mr. Glover as a man after her own heart. "Mr. Glover, I believe, is a very honest man, who wishes, as I do, all the good that can happen to preserve the liberties and laws of England," and therefore a proper person to write the life of her illustrious husband. In the year 1754 Davies, when speaking of his Boadicea, says of the author, "But his poetical fame, though great, was inferior to his character as a patriot and a true lover of his country." In the year 1760, Dodington speaks with anxious interest, that he may be attached to his party. "Glover has not determined about

about political connexions, but, I believe, he will come to us." From 1761 to 1768 he was in Parliament, always steady to his principles; and is said to have made some eloquent speeches in the House. In 1773 Mr. Woodfall declared to Junius that he knew only one man who could influence his vote, and that was Mr. Glover: and in the year 1775 he was seen at the Bar of the House of Commons, holding the same language and opinions, and exerting himself with the same zeal as had marked his progress through every stage of his political life.

With respect to Mr. Glover's intimacy with Lord Temple's family, it is now so completely within our means of information, that it ought not to be a subject of doubt or uncertainty. Many letters of Lord Temple to Mr. Glover are still in existence, in which the most marked and affectionate regard is expressed, and during

Lord

Lord Temple's life Stow was often the retreat of Glover; and when his Lordship was in town, both himself and Lady Temple were in the habit of dining with him at his house in James-street, Westminster, on a footing of intimacy, and the daughters of George Grenville occasionally dined with him as the intimate friend of their father. These facts can be all proved by many persons now living, and until they can be shewn to be untrue, it is idle to suppose that Glover was an inconsiderable man in their estimation, or that he was only distantly known to that illustrious family.

Objections have been taken to this Memoir, as to the probability of its being written by the same person known by the signature of Junius, from the want of a conformity of style to that celebrated author: but when style in writing is to be considered as evidence for, or against, the resemblance

resemblance of different authors, it is of the utmost importance to attend to the circumstances under which the author wrote, and the object he had in view. To judge of Junius fairly, all his writings should be considered,—his private letters to Woodfall and to Wilkes, his authenticated letters under the signatures of Testiculus, Domitian, Vindex, Whig, Cumbriensis, Veteran, Scotus and Nemesis, as well as those of Philo-Junius, should be attentively read, and then it will be perceived that the "highest style of Junius" was neither the natural nor the common diction of that writer. As far as sentiments and opinions mark a resemblance between Glover and Junius, the spirit of the Memoir breathes the same feeling as that of Junius, and is of the same character, allowing for the difference of mere narrative composition in the closet, and the full and unbounded flood of indignant invective studiously polished,

lished, to fix and command public attention; but what is most strikingly remarkable between them is their mental character, neither biassed by the prejudices nor influenced by the predilections of others. There is throughout the whole of these works the solitary feeling of a man wrapped up in the perfect confidence of himself, wholly trusting to his own resources, unmindful of opinion, and regardless of every consideration but the independent principles of his own mind. Junius proclaims his thoughts from an unknown obscurity, and gives them the unbounded force of invective declamation; Glover writes the same thoughts to unburthen his mind in the closet, and they are concealed from the public because he has no means of giving them to the world, to be understood with the same purity of intention as they were written. Junius and Glover both praise and blame from themselves with

with the same political views; and whether right or wrong, they never echo other men's opinions, nor give the sentiments of a party, nor the dogmas of a faction.

To strengthen the probability that Junius and Glover were the same; it appears throughout all the private letters of Junius to Woodfall, that Junius knew Woodfall thoroughly, and it also appears that Junius was conscious Woodfall knew him, and suspected that he might guess who he was in his concealed character, as I have shewn in my "Inquiry." Woodfall, like Junius, was sincerely attached to what he considered Whig principles, and it is notorious, both from the respectability of his own character, and the political importance of his Paper, that he was personally acquainted with most of the distinguished characters of his time whose politics coincided with his own. Under these circumstances, when he is asking Junius to direct

characters

him for whom he should give his vote at the next general election, it is remarkable that he should say, "I have no connexions to warp me, *nor am I acquainted but with one person who would speak to me on the subject*, and that gentleman is, I believe, a true friend to the real good of his country, *I mean Mr. Glover, the author of Leonidas.*"

*** The Notes are all by Glover, except those marked, EDIT.

MEMOIRS,

&c.

DON CARLOS told me, that it cost him twelve thousand pounds in corruption, particularly among the Tories, to carry the Westminster and Chippenham elections, and other points, which compelled Lord Orford, at that time Sir Robert Walpole, to quit the House of Commons. The application of the merchants, which was then depending at the bar of that House, contributed greatly to his removal; their weight and interest being so considerable, that the House postponed the supplies to dispatch their cause, by which means things were brought to such a crisis, that the Court was entirely at the mercy of the House, both for want of money and of the standing army, which

1742. Oct. 2.

1742. could subsist no longer than Lady-day, and by this time they were advanced considerably into February. When I say the Court was at the mercy of the House, I may add, that it was at that juncture in the power of our great leader, Mr. Pulteney, to save this nation, by procuring frequent and independent parliaments, by bringing Lord Orford to justice, and by other points tending to diminish and restrain the encroachments of the Crown, and to throw a larger share of power into the hands of the people. But how unequal this gentleman proved to so great a task, the following relation will evince.

Mr. Pulteney.

The Court being driven to such extremities, partly by the shameful secret methods abovementioned, as I learnt from Don Carlos, but chiefly, I hope, and really believe, by the general resentment of these kingdoms against Lord Orford, without which resentment and spirit without doors, it could never have been in the power of our infamous leaders to gain their point, by turning him out and supplying his room themselves. The Court, under

under these difficulties, a few days before the adjournment, desired a conference with Lord Carteret and Mr. Pulteney, who understanding that it was intended Lord Orford should be present, absolutely rejected the offer. This was soon made easy to them, and a conference was held at Mr. Pulteney's house, where himself, Carteret, the Lord Chancellor, Newcastle, and Henry Pelham were present. The courtiers proposed, in the King's name, to make Lord Carteret secretary of state, which he refused, saying, that if he came into the administration, he would be possessed of the *vis potentiæ*, the management of the money, and therefore insisted on being first Lord of the Treasury; but they replied, that the King designed that office for Mr. Pulteney, upon which Lord Carteret consented to take the place of Secretary: but Mr. Pulteney refusing to come into place at all, Lord Carteret then returned to his former resolution of being first commissioner of the Treasury himself, and added, that he insisted the rest of the commission should be of his own 1742.

1742. friends, from which he would not recede unless Mr. Pulteney took it himself, in which case he would content himself with being Secretary.

Here ended the first conference, which, though inconclusive, was of this advantageous consequence to the courtiers, that they had brought Carteret and Pulteney to act in a most unwarrantable manner, by presuming to treat without the privity, much less the approbation of their party.* Soon

* In June 1747, when Don Carlos was complaining to me of the ill treatment he had received from Mr. Lyttelton, Pitt, the Grenvilles, and others, he added, that to his certain knowledge, Mr. Lyttelton had sent a letter to Sir Robert Walpole by the hands of Colonel Selwyn's son, offering terms; among other particulars, taking upon himself to answer for Don Carlos; that this letter was sent previous to any accommodation between Walpole and Pulteney, but was received with the utmost contempt by Walpole: and it is certain, if Pulteney deserves any share of credit, that he has constantly accused that part of the opposition, under which Lyttelton was inlisted, of making the first overtures to the minister, and consequently compelling him, by their treachery, to precipitate the treaty mentioned at large in the following pages.

Dr. Ascough told me that he and Colonel Lyttelton were

Soon after, on the -- day of February, 1741-2, the Parliament was adjourned; the Thursday following a second conference was held between the same persons as before, at Lord Carteret's house. The courtiers then offered from the King, that since Mr. Pulteney declined being first commissioner of the Treasury, he was determined to put Lord Wilmington into that office, and to give the post of secretary to Carteret, who persisted to refuse it, saying, he would give up the Treasury to nobody but Pulteney; but this latter then used his utmost endeavours, and at length with difficulty prevailed upon him to accept the king's offer, and the result of this second conference was, to promote Wilmington to the head of the Treasury, with Sandys, Gybbon, Rushout, and Wal- 1742.

were present at the meeting of Lyttelton and young Mr. Selwyn; that Mr. Lyttelton opened with offering a secure retreat to Sir Robert Walpole, upon which Dr. Ascough went out of the room taking the Colonel with him, and left the other two by themselves. The Colonel (afterwards Sir Richard Lyttelton) confirmed this account of Ascough to me more than once.

1742. ler joint commissioners; and I believe at the same time it was resolved to put Winchelsea, Granard, Chetwynd, and possibly others, which I do not justly remember, into the Admiralty. This transaction was still without the privity or consent of the party, and being known the next day, gave great uneasiness among them, and indeed destroyed all confidence for the future.

A meeting was held at the Fountain Tavern* in the Strand, when the whole party assembled, and several who had not been consulted, the Duke of Argyle in particular, fell most severely upon Sandys and the rest, who accepted these employments, but which, to their immortal honour, had been refused by Waller, Granard, and Chetwynd. The names of those

* This meeting was held on February the 12th, 1742.

This was the Fountain Club to which Junius says Lord Barrington belonged. "This worthy man, before he obtained his price, was as deeply engaged in opposition to Government as any member of the *Fountain Club* to which he belonged. He then thought it no sin to run down Sir Robert Walpole, though now he has altered his tone."—*Junius*, Vol. iii. p. 452.—EDIT.

who

who went in, in this secret manner, are Carteret, Sandys, Rushout, Gybbon, and Compton, who supplied Waller's place. The Admiralty was not filled up till some time after. The Duke of Argyle, after this speech at the Fountain Tavern, went home, and I have reason to think, heartily repented, for the next night, being Saturday, he, the Duke of Bedford, the Lords Carlisle, Chesterfield, Cobham, Gower, and Bathurst, had a meeting, when it was agreed, that Argyle, Bedford, and Carlisle, three the most considerable persons in the nation, should wait on Pulteney to treat. They went accordingly the Monday following, and were sent back with this cold answer: "He could do nothing." This was transacted without the knowledge of Don Carlos, who, when they informed him of it, told them, they had been guilty of a *lacheté*, in applying to Pulteney, who must have come to them, had they had patience to wait a few days. However, another conference was held on the Tuesday following, where Mr. Pulteney met these seven Lords; and it being proposed 1742.

1742. by him (I presume) that Don Carlos and all of them should go to Court, the Duke of Argyle said, he had no business to go unless he was called to Court, and that sure he had as good pretensions, and was as worthy of notice as Sir J. Rushout; upon which Pulteney replied, I can understand this speech in no other sense but that your Grace wants a place. In fine, the result of this meeting was, that they would be satisfied (for the present must be understood) if the Duke of Argyle was taken in. After this, the leaders of all parties determined to attend the Duke to Court. They went; the Duke was restored to his regiment and command of the ordnance; every thing which followed was nonsense, folly, knavery, &c. every man shifted for himself, and the session concluded with screening Lord Orford from justice, deluding the people with the farce of a secret committee and a ridiculous place-bill, with the further promotion of Lord Cobham, Bathurst, Gower, Limerick, Furnese, Harry Vane, and the creating Mr. Pulteney Earl of Bath.

Hamilton, Ld. Limerick.

The

The succeeding winter, 1742 and 3, the opposition was renewed with more real vigour, and on clearer principles than ever. Waller was properly the head, who had refused to be commissioner of the Treasury with great spirit and disinterestedness, though Mr. Pitt being the most distinguished among the younger sort, and by his pompous and sarcastical oratory, universally reputed an excellent speaker, took the lead in the House of Commons. But Lord Cobham, with whom I spent great part of my time that winter in the most intimate manner, seemed to be as much the secret life and spirit of the party, as any one whatever, notwithstanding he continued in place, and in my opinion saw through the absurdity and madness of Carteret's foreign conduct with admirable discernment. Lord Chesterfield, undoubtedly a man of more wit and of more shewy parts than Lord Cobham, did not penetrate so far into the cloud then gathering on the continent; and Dodington, who made strong attempts, and not without success, to become a leader,

1743. Oct. 29.

1743. der, was, to my certain knowledge, obliged to Lord Cobham for all the lights he could boast of in the transactions of that sessions.* Waller and Cobham were one, though there was a distinctness of conception, at least a happiness of explaining his thoughts, far superior in Lord Cobham to Mr. Waller. I took the liberty of differing from them all with respect to the power of France, and the impossibility of the Queen of Hungary's maintaining her ground, when they gave her up as irresistibly undone. The event at least justified my opinion. I never thought France so exorbitantly powerful, nor the Queen of Hungary so deficient in strength, as all my friends did.

The Duke of Argyle was a man of con-

* It was some time at the beginning of this year, or latter end of the preceding, that the Lords Cobham and Gower and Mr. Henry Furnese threw up the employments which had been given them upon the change of the ministry. Lord Carteret, afterwards Earl of Granville, upon the death of his mother, was then in power, supported by Lord Bath, Sandys, Bathurst, Limerick, Winchelsea, and a few commoners; it was against Lord Carteret's measures that the new opposition was formed.

siderable

siderable parts and wit, though by no means so great as appeared from an happy and most imposing manner of speaking in public, where a certain dignity and vivacity, joined to a most captivating air of openness and sincerity, generally gave his arguments a weight, which in themselves they frequently wanted; and many would go away charmed with his speeches, and yet be extremely at a loss afterwards to discover that strength of reasoning which they imagined at the hearing to have influenced them so highly in his favour. To style him inconsistent, is by much too gentle an appellation; for, though from the time he first had a regiment, being under twenty years of age, through the whole course of his great employments, he was never known to sell a place, or even to make those advantages which were universally esteemed allowable and blameless; yet he was in his own person a most shameless prostitute to power, and extremely avaricious: he indeed would sell nothing but himself, which he continually did with every circumstance of levity, weakness, 1743.

1743. weakness, and even treachery; the last instance of which centered within my own knowledge, and is as follows.

As my good fortune had given me great interest in the city, and had placed me in a manner at the head of it for several years past, the merchants of London made little difficulty of intrusting to my care and management their application to both Houses of Parliament, against the Walpolean commissioners of the Admiralty.* This attempt was crowned with such success in the House of Commons, that the merchants, not without the advice of their friends in both Houses, thought it expedient to stop there, and give the Lords no trouble. I was deputed by the merchants to communicate this design to the Duke of Bedford, who had presented their address, and to Lord Carteret, who had seconded it. This was just after the Earl of Bath and Carteret had acted a part no ways agreeable to the opposition, though

* "I am an old reader of political controversy; I remember the great Walpolean battles."—*Junius*, Vol. iii. p. 208.—Edit.

the

the measure of their iniquity was not complete at that time. 1743.

The Duke of Argyle, who was just restored to the Ordnance, hearing I had been to Carteret, was excessively piqued, and treated me with an unusual degree of coldness; upon which I wrote to him such a letter as gained me admission to his Grace the next morning early. My crime, it seems was, having had the least commerce with Carteret on the merchants affair, who, he said, would immediately represent to the King, that the merchants had been with him, had consulted him as their friend before any other, and by this means mislead the King into an opinion, that Carteret was very popular in London, whom the Duke treated with many terms of abhorrence, styling him his enemy, and adding, how indifferently and disrespectfully he himself had been used for the few days he had been at Court. I alleged, that the merchants, and myself in particular, detested Carteret as much as his Grace, but that the common forms of the House of Lords required our waiting upon

the

1743. the Duke of Bedford and Lord Carteret, on the putting off our affair, because they were the lords that had brought it into the House.

I remember the Duke very little regarded all I urged, but walked up and down exclaiming against Carteret; but dismissed me very kindly and civilly. Soon after his Grace, taking offence at the usage from the King and the ministry, threw up all his employments. He was blamed by some for too much precipitation, among which number I was one. What he alleged for his justification was this: That he went in, as a pledge on the broad bottom plan, which was, to destroy the distinction of Whig and Tory, by the indiscriminate admission of both parties into place, and he, not finding that any such thing was intended, which was the condition of his going in, thought it in honour incumbent on him, to quit. The true reason (in my judgment) was the treatment he received at Court, not answering his ambitious views, and perhaps not agreeable to his rank and dignity: his views were

were to have the sole command of the army, which reminds me of one of Lord Orford's bold and unguarded expressions, that there were two men who wanted the sole management of the army, the King and Argyle, but, by God, neither of them should have it. 1743.

The Duke of Argyle, not long after he resigned, waited on Lord Chesterfield, before his Grace went to Sudbrook, when he declared, that he was quite happy in himself, perfectly satisfied with his own conduct, and concluded his conversation with a history of his brother Ila, which painted him out in the most infamous and diabolical colours, and then said, can your lordship blame me for not seeing such a brother as this? He went down to Sudbrook, and in about a month sent for this brother, by whose intervention all matters were adjusted between Argyle and the late detested Lord Carteret, who had *certainly* deluded him with the expectation of putting the army into his hands, which was his favourite passion; and though his old friends in the opposition continued the

ensuing

1743. ensuing sessions to stand up against the Court, he was determined to have come up to Parliament, and supported Carteret in all his measures, even in the infamous job of the Hanover forces, he, in whom but the year before the whole body of Tories reposed an implicit confidence; he, who had harangued so pathetically at the Fountain Tavern against Sandys and the rest, who had taken places a few days before; this very man would have acted the part I have been now relating, had not Lord Chesterfield, from whom I received this account, waited on him in the country, and finding him extremely indisposed, had the good fortune to dissuade the Duke from his purpose, and in some measure saved his reputation. The Duke died about six or seven months after.

From May to the middle of November in this year 1743, I passed great part of my time near Temple-Mills, an estate and concern purchased and carried on in partnership with my most intimate, dear, and faithful friend Mr. William Ockenden, of whose unequalled virtue and consummate abilities

abilities I shall have frequent occasion to speak in the course of these memoirs; especially as in consequence of the interest which Temple-Mills must necessarily procure him in the borough of Great Marlow, he will, in all probability, be returned member for that place, and the public will then know that his excellent parts and qualities are not confined merely to the happiness and emolument of his numerous friends in the circle of private life. This situation of mine gave me frequent opportunities of conversing with Mr. Waller during the summer. He and I agreed entirely on the plan of opposition the ensuing sessions. I must confess, though we always drew the same conclusions upon the subject of public affairs, we did by no means agree in many of the principles from which those conclusions were drawn. I always found an obscurity in him, which I could not but attribute to some degree of indistinctness in his conceptions; nor was I singular in that opinion; but, hitherto, no man can say but that he had continued in opposition to all the enemies of his country

1743.

1743. with perseverance and zeal. When I came to London, I received a letter from Lord Chesterfield, desiring me to meet some friends at his house, particularly Pitt and Lyttelton, with whom I have been for many years upon a footing of the most intimate friendship,* to consult about the public affairs. The Sunday after, I dined with Lyttelton, who communicated to me the substance of their resolutions at that meeting; where, let me observe, that neither Lord Cobham nor Waller were present. I entirely disapproved of their plan, and the next day wrote to Lord Chesterfield a letter something to the following effect.

Lawrence Pulteney-hill,
Monday morning.

MY LORD,

HAD my good fortune brought me to London time enough last week to have had the honour of accepting your lordship's invitation on Tuesday, I should have saved you the trouble of this letter. Though I am to see you so soon as next

* "Lord Lyttelton's integrity and judgment are unquestionable."—*Junius*, Vol. ii. p. 305.—EDIT.

Saturday,

Saturday, I cannot rest without offering some crude reflections to your lordship's consideration. I understood yesterday by Mr. Lyttelton, that the plan of this sessions, now under deliberation with some of the opposition, consists principally in "replacing the Hanoverians with other hired forces, keeping an army in readiness on the continent, and treating with France in that posture, but under this restriction, that no step whatever should be taken but in concert with the Dutch." When I am asked, how such a measure will be relished without doors, I freely own, that it will by no means be unpopular, unless its consequences prove, as my own apprehensions suggest. Let me ask, "After granting immense supplies and a large army, are you sure the Dutch will take any part with you, and what? Suppose they join you with thirty thousand men instead of ten, are you sure the French will be so far intimidated as to give up immediately all the Emperor's pretensions, except the single restitution of his hereditary dominions?" The conduct which 1743.

1743. France has to observe, is to me extremely obvious. Not to treat, not to give up any one point, to fill up her barrier towns with strong garrisons, lie behind them with a great army, which her ordinary revenue will enable her to do, and wait till the English and Dutch will make an attack upon her dominions. Let me ask again, will they attack her? the consequence of which is a general war, which she knows you are averse to, and the Dutch still more? If we do not attack her, will she not compel us to spin out a whole campaign like the end of the last—at an immense expense, which will necessarily occasion greater clamours in England than ever, and strengthen the pacific party in Holland? And all this time you are wasting away in so fruitless a manner, France runs no risk, is at no other expense than granting subsistence to the Emperor, and consequently will be more stiff in her demands the subsequent year, when she will have saved as many lives, and as much money, as you have been throwing away; then, what step must England take next, in

in a condition so much weaker and more exhausted than before? then, my Lord, consider at whose door will the unpopularity of this measure fall?" 1743.

This was the substance of the letter, though I cannot call this an exact copy. I waited on Lord Chesterfield at dinner on the day appointed, when I met Pitt, Lyttelton, and George Grenville, who I believe will make the most useful and able parliament man of the three, though not of equal eloquence with Pitt. They informed me that the opposition was now agreed, that it would go on much upon the same footing as last year, &c. Upon the whole I found the plan I writ against in my letter, which Lord Chesterfield made me many compliments upon, was entirely thrown aside. I further observed, that Waller was acknowledged among them for their head and leader. I likewise learned something about Dodington, which confirmed me in my suspicions of his being but a rotten member of the opposition. The Sunday se'nnight after I

1713. dined with Waller, we agreed in all our conclusions as usual, and I thought he came more into my principles and premises than he used to do. He seemed uneasy at the difference they had had among themselves upon their measures this sessions, and seemed a little dubious, even after I assured him that all was agreed and settled upon his plan, which he was pleased to term his and mine concluded on the preceding summer. I own the state of public affairs, independent of all party considerations, appeared so plain to me, that I am at a loss to find any good motive which could have influenced my friends in differing so much with Mr. Waller upon their measures this sessions. Whether young men, elated with a brilliant character, might not take upon them too early to be the contrivers, as well as the orators, in behalf of the party, I cannot say. Whether there were any worse motives than mere vanity and self-sufficiency for this conduct, I will not say. Neither, perhaps, am I too severe in my judgment of men; but I must declare, that from this accident

accident I conceive less hopes of our present opposition than I did. When I use the word hope, I would not be understood to mean that I expect any great benefit to my country from this or any opposition ;* but I had a better opinion of some people than I have just now ; and they are so nearly connected with me by a long friendship and esteem, that I most heartily wish that my fears may be misplaced, and prove in the end abortive. 1743.

The apprehensions expressed in the foregoing paragraph were but too justly founded, as appears by the following narrative, collected from my own observation, and the intelligence I received from Lord Cobham and Mr. Waller. During the whole 1743-4. Jan. 11.

* " As to the injury we may do any future and more respectable House of Commons, I own I am not now sanguine enough to expect a more plentiful harvest of parliamentary virtue in one year than another. Our political climate is severely altered; and without dwelling upon the depravity of modern times, I think no reasonable man will expect, that, as human nature is constituted, the enormous influence of the crown should cease to prevail over the virtue of individuals." *Junius*, Vol. ii. p. 210.—Edit.

1743-4. summer I had observed a disposition in Lords Chesterfield, Gower, Marchmont, Pitt, and Lyttelton, to treat with Mr. Henry Pelham; their view was, to raise him above Carteret; and then, it was pretended, there might be hopes of obtaining some good laws, and possibly of separating the electorate of Hanover from the crown of Great Britain. Mr. Waller was ever averse to this negociation, having no confidence in Pelham, despising his narrow understanding and abject spirit, and detesting his mean, equivocating temper. This treaty, however, was certainly attempted by the others, and was the parent of that plan which was communicated to me by Lyttelton, and was adopted by Lord Chesterfield, from Pitt. To this latter I can trace it: whether any other suggested it first to him, I am not certain; but I have some suspicion that Bolingbroke had his share in this measure, if he were not the first mover; and thus much I know as a fact, that a connection was constantly kept up with him by them all. Mr. Pitt and the rest were naturally led into this measure,

sure, supposing it not their own, for this plain reason: As they were continually in expectation of coming into place through Harry Pelham, and at the same time were weak enough to hope that means might be contrived to preserve their characters, this plan, whether of their own or Bolingbroke's, or any other's, is not material, was considered to be the proper means; because, having once agreed to support the king in his warlike measures, by giving all the English troops the money demanded for the current service, and replacing the Hanoverians with other mercenaries, during the time they were part of the opposition, they could pursue the same steps after they were taken into place, and say, that their conduct was the same as ever, and entirely consistent with itself. Upon the whole, the bare opposition to the Hanoverians was to be the scape-goat for so great a folly, to give it no severer an appellation. Mr. Waller, and indeed the whole minority besides, except Dodington, (as in its place shall be explained,) were always for attacking the whole measure of the 1743-4.

1743-4. the minister, and treated the affair of the Hanoverian forces as a very inconsiderable part of that whole, and of little further service than exasperating the people without doors. Mr. Pitt and his few friends had publicly declared their opinion in behalf of the English army in Flanders, having entirely changed their sentiments since my interview with them at Lord Chesterfield's early in December, and when pressed by their friend, I may say patron, Lord Cobham, to retract and agree with Waller not to listen to his persuasions but on the following proposition—that a motion should be made in the House of Commons for an address to the King not to proceed any further in the war without some express stipulation with the States General for their full concurrence and support; and if the Court rejects this motion, says Pitt, I will then join with the rest, and oppose the English forces as well as the Hanoverians. This was the sole occasion of that motion, which would not else have been thought of, much less proposed. Mr. Waller accordingly drew up one, which was disapproved

proved of, and another prepared by Lord Chesterfield, which was done at Lord Cobham's house, and was the very exploded motion that appears in the votes: it was thrown out by a great majority; and Mr. Pitt being called upon to concur with Waller in opposing the English, the terms upon which the latter had agreed to the motion at all, declared that the merits of it having been no ways the subject of the debate in the House, but merely the grammar and wording of it, he was left at liberty to follow his own opinion with respect to the English forces as at first; and accordingly, with Lyttelton and Mr. Chetwynd, made public interest with the members of the opposition to vote with the court upon the subject of the English in Flanders, and to confine their opposition to the Hanoverians only. They even went so far, and Chesterfield was weak enough to assist, as to declare that the above-mentioned ill-judged, ill-expressed motion was Waller's, though he at that time was in possession of it under his own hand: and in the midst of the flame and confu- 1743-4.

sion

1743-4. sion this conduct occasioned, Mr. Dodington steps in to act his part. Mr. Dodington, who never was, nor will be, averse to treat with Mr. Pelham, or any one besides, for a place, was actually of the same opinion as Mr. Pitt with relation to the English forces before the opening of the sessions. Afterwards, finding that Pelham was mean enough to range himself a subaltern under Carteret, whom, with the assistance then offered by the opposition, he might have easily supplanted; finding too that Pitt still continued tenacious of his first opinion, of whom Dodington was ever extremely jealous, and whose character he envied, immediately took advantage of the other's obstinacy, changed his sentiments, came over to Waller, and at last, in the midst of the animosities and divisions just mentioned, procured a general meeting of the minority members at the Fountain Tavern just before the 11th of January, the day appointed for the English forces, in the House.

Pitt, whom pride and resentment on the ill success of his plan would not suffer to retract,

retract, had acted more prudently by staying away from this meeting, than by coming, as he did, and endeavouring to persuade the company to vote for the English forces. His reasons were, that the nation being involved in a war, the ministry ought not to be disarmed. The whole meeting were of a different opinion, and Mr. Velters Cornwal having made a speech which obliquely reflected on Pitt and Lyttelton, they immediately retired with Chetwynd to one side of the room, and after some conference by themselves rejoined the company; when Mr. Pitt addressed them to this effect: "That since he found the meeting so unanimously of opinion to oppose the English forces the next day, he should pay that regard to the sentiments of his friends as to vote with them, though contrary to his own, but that he hoped they would be contented with his vote, and not expect he should speak." The next day being the 11th of January, the court carried their question, and Pitt and Lyttelton, as they had declared, voted with their friends, but did not speak in the 1743-4.

1743-4. the debate—a behaviour equally ridiculous and absurd, and of ten times more service to the court and of disadvantage to the opposition, than if both had accepted employments, and publicly joined with the administration. At the same time Pitt hath lost all the confidence of his friends, and entirely eased Dodington of his envy and jealousy, which were, indisputably, all his motives of acting throughout this unhappy affair.

1744. Jan. 18. During the course of this year, 1744, the leaders of the opposition, who had differed among themselves so widely the year before, were now once more re-united upon one principle, which was, to get into place; in consequence of this agreement a junto was formed of nine, who were, the Duke of Bedford, Earl of Chesterfield, Lord Gower, Mr. Pitt, Lyttelton, Lord Cobham, Mr. Waller, Dodington, and Sir John Hynde Cotton: however, this justice is due to the four last, that in all their conferences with the other five they strenuously insisted on making some terms with Mr. Pelham for the public before they went

went into employment. Mr. Dodington informed me, that one of these conditions was, that the inferior officers of the excise and customs, with some others of the like dependence on the crown, should be deprived of their votes in all elections for members of parliament; and I was told in express terms by Mr. Waller, that Pelham himself offered to concur with them in procuring a more effectual place-bill, particularly to exclude all officers of the army under the rank of colonels, and possibly of the navy under the degree of admirals; but whether this last article was only desired by Mr. Waller and Cobham, Dodington and Cotton, or actually promised by Pelham, I cannot determine; but thus much is certain, that Waller told me a place-bill was offered by Pelham during their treaty with him, and I understood it to have been intended very nearly in the shape I have mentioned. Waller at the same time ascribed this condescension in the minister to very notorious and obvious reasons, i. e. his incapacity and pusillanimity, which led him to make these concessions; 1744.

1744. cessions; not that his mean heart entertained the least spark of compunction for the public, but merely that he might sit easy in power, and shelter his inability
Pelham. against the weight of Waller's talents and experience, the virulent eloquence of Pitt, the party strength of Gower and Cotton among the tories, the keen and lively parts of Cobham, and the industry and social arts of Dodington; all which, united upon honest and disinterested views for their country, must have speedily rendered the opposition not only formidable, but dangerous to Pelham; such, however, was the *prostitution* of Bedford, Chesterfield,* Gower, Pitt, and Lyttelton, a party founded

* I must here observe, that if any one of these five may be distinguished from the rest as the most *prostitute* and eager to gêt into power and employment, it was the Earl of Chesterfield. He and Lord Cobham were deputed by the junto to treat, in their names, with the Pelhams; and in all their private interviews this forwardness of Chesterfield could neither be restrained by Cobham, nor did he himself endeavour to conceal it; on the contrary, he affected to act without the other's concurrence or participation, by private conferences and whisperings, even in the same

founded on the base desire of pecuniary emoluments, partly on the more extensive views of procuring the whole ministerial power to themselves, that they peremptorily insisted on coming into employment without any stipulations whatever. 1744.

Lord Cobham was at one time so provoked at this infamous conduct, that he had thoughts of withdrawing himself from their councils, and to Sir Francis Dashwood, from whom I had my information, made up of the following expressions: "Damn these fellows! they mean nothing but themselves! Will they stand by us? By God, we will have no further concern with them." But his resolution did not hold: the truth is, that Lord Cobham, Dodington, and Cotton, had too much sense not to see the weakness of Pelham, of which they were sincerely desirous to make an advantage, so far as might serve to bring them into power with some degree of character; and

same room before Cobham's face; a procedure so gross, that the latter, as he has often told me in confidence, was frequently provoked to reproach him, and insist on his speaking out.

1744. this they very well knew could never be accomplished without obtaining some terms for the people; but at the same time it was always evident to me, who knew them during the whole course of their opposition, long before they accepted of employments, and their subsequent conduct has rendered it notorious to all mankind, that their first regard was to profit and power, that their second was to character, and much fainter than the first; and that their care for the public extended no further than to preserve some part of their former popularity for a varnish to their avarice and ambition. Mr. Waller went much further; he really meant to serve the public effectually, if he could, as well as himself; but absolute despair of the former made him stoop at last from his reputation and integrity, and embrace his own private advantage. The truth of these observations shall now be evinced by a flagrant and incontestable fact.

These nine chiefs not being able to agree unanimously among themselves, it was at length proposed, that the question in dispute,

pute, whether they should accept of em- 1744.
ployments with, or without any previous stipulations for the public, should be put to the vote, and that the whole junto should be determined by the sense of the majority. This act of presumption, for nine men, by a single vote among themselves, to determine for their whole party without its privity and approbation, to say nothing of the public, was a step which, I should have expected, would have forced Mr. Waller with indignation from their company and councils: but he acquiesced with the rest, and it was carried, to go into place without the least stipulation whatever, by the voices of the Duke of Bedford, the lords Chesterfield and Gower, of Mr. Pitt and Lyttelton, against Lord Cobham, Waller, Dodington, and Sir J. Hynde Cotton: in consequence of this resolution, the office of privy-seal was restored to Lord Gower, a regiment of dragoons given to Lord Cobham, Waller made cofferer, Lyttelton commissioner of the treasury, the Duke of Bedford first commissioner of the admiralty, Dodington

1744. treasurer of the navy, and Cotton treasurer of the chambers; Chesterfield and Pitt did not come into place immediately, but the first was designed for the lieutenancy of Ireland, and the last to be paymaster of the army. It was not till the year 1745 that Lord Chesterfield went to Ireland; but the manner in which Pitt was brought in at last, requires a detail not unworthy of notice.

Mr. Pitt. Mr. William Pitt, during the course of his opposition, had signalized himself by no part of his conduct so much as by the bitterest and most virulent invectives against the king's German dominions, which drew upon him his Majesty's indignation and hatred, and was for many months an insurmountable obstacle to his preferment. The King complained to the Earl of Granville, who still retained the first place in his confidence and esteem, and even to the Earl of Bath, of this ungrateful attempt of the Pelhams to force into his service and councils a person whom he held in the utmost abhorrence. The Earl of Bath, who was now become the most insigni-

insignificant and contemptible of men, from a degree of popularity and power which no subject before him was ever possessed of, began upon this occasion to entertain fresh hopes of regaining some part of his former weight and influence, and in this view cherished and cultivated the king's resentment. The Pelhams, alarmed at his majesty's continued obstinacy, and still apprehensive of being supplanted by Granville, as they well knew his superior abilities and peculiar arts in obtaining and preserving their master's favour, at length came to a resolution of attacking the king on his weakest side, his timidity, and to make his refusal of Mr. Pitt the pretence for executing a measure which should for ever fright him from the very thought of employing the Earl of Granville more. It was now the month of February, 1745-6, when a rebellion, which had sprung from a small beginning in the preceding month of July, continued to prevail, and filled the court and kingdom with a consternation which no time 1744.

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1745. can parallel, and no circumstance can justify.

Prince Charles. It was on the 26th of July, 1745, that Charles Edward, son to the Pretender, landed with a few followers in the highlands of Scotland, and there erected his standard. The first intelligence of this design was treated by the administration with indifference and neglect. The rebels were upwards of 3000 in number, and were masters of the passes on a mountain called Corriarrick, which leads to Fort Augustus, when Sir John Cope, general of the troops in Scotland, and who had not left Stirling before the 20th of August, in his march to that fort, was obliged to desist from this undertaking and turn to the eastward, where reaching the town of Aberdeen, he embarked his forces for Dunbar, south of Edinburgh. On his retreat the rebels quitted those passes, and rushing from their mountains without any obstacle, soon traversed the lowlands, and were admitted into Edinburgh; then marching out to meet Sir John Cope, who having landed his army at Dunbar, was advancing

vancing against them, gave him battle on the 21st of September, and totally routed the king's troops. Disgraceful was this behaviour, though not uncommon in regular forces when assailed by an enemy, whose arms and method of engaging are different from their own; but more disgraceful, and destined to eternal infamy, was the consternation which at once overspread this populous kingdom. 1745.

The rebels did not take all the advantage of a victory so easily obtained; they lost some time in a fruitless siege of Edinburgh Castle, instead of proceeding directly to Northumberland; General Wade got thither in time to oppose that attempt, which obliged them to enter England by Carlisle. Into the very heart of this kingdom did 6000 mountaineers, of whom not 3000 were properly combatants, penetrate unopposed and unassisted; till finding that the Duke of Cumberland was advancing with an army not inferior to their own, and discouraged at their cold reception from their reputed friends in England, they returned to Scotland without inter-

1745. ruption, raised contributions on the city of Glasgow, invested Stirling Castle without success, surprised the king's troops under General Hawley at Falkirk, and gave them another defeat, more owing to his beastly ignorance and negligence, than to their valour and conduct.

This infamous and disheartening event necessitated the Duke of Cumberland to take the field a second time; and this rebellion, formidable only in the apprehensions of a pusillanimous and effeminate nation, was brought to a period in a few months by one battle with the highlanders at Culloden, very little to the credit of their pretended Prince, and in its consequences not much to the honour of our Royal Commander, who stained his victory with the most unsparing cruelty.

The defeat at Falkirk furnished occasion to the Pelhams of demonstrating their ingratitude, as well as their factious power, to the king. This crisis they chose, to insist on his creating Mr. Pitt paymaster of the army, an office which renders its possessor

sessor a privy councillor. The proposition 1745.
was rejected; the Duke of Newcastle resigned; Granville was appointed secretary of state in his room: upon this, Mr. Pelham and all the king's old servants resigned likewise. None could be found to accept the vacant offices. Granville, whose arbitrary spirit was not less undaunted than dangerous, boldly counselled the king to summon the Commons, and declare from the throne to them and the House of Lords, what usage he received from all his servants in the midst of a rebellion. Could the counsellor have conveyed with his advice some part of his manly and enterprising temper to the person advised, perhaps the project might have been put into execution; and considering the king's popularity at that juncture, and the odium he would have cast on the Pelhams; considering too their wavering and timid disposition, it was a project which might have brought them to submission at least, if not overthrown the whole faction. On the contrary, the king submitted to them, and The king.
was

1745. was seen* to weep when Mr. Pitt appeared first in the drawing-room to kiss hands.

Disinterested motives, and an object of public advantage extorted from the Crown, would have rendered the measure illustrious to all posterity; but the motives were selfish, the object was power: this conduct therefore of the Pelhams was ungrateful towards a Prince ever profitable to them, and factious towards the State, which they never had served either ably or vigilantly, nor meant to serve in this instance: their single aim was to annihilate all rivalship, and establish an unbounded authority over a weak, narrow, sordid, and unfeeling master, who, seated by fortune on a throne, was calculated by nature for a pawnbroker's shop, and was easily reconciled to a set of men willing and able to gratify his low avarice, in his ideas, a sufficient compensation for the sacrifice he made them of his resentments and his prerogative. Hating Mr. Pitt, he

* Mrs. Waller told me, that she stood near the king on the occasion, and saw him shed tears.

preferred

preferred him: the ministers, who had hurled back his favours in his face, he restored not only to employment, but to his confidence, and the sole power of three kingdoms: among so great a number, Lord Harrington was the only one he did not forgive, and whom he was permitted to disgrace. Pitt co-operated with the Pelhams in every point, and brought himself to a level with the Earl of Bath in the public dis-esteem, not more by his votes, than by his hot and unguarded expressions in Parliament; the most indecent of which, was, a needless encomium on the late Sir Robert Walpole, reproaching himself for his opposition to him, and professing a veneration for his ashes.* 1745.

I write as I think; I deliver facts as they fall under my own observation; my

* "I have no objection to pay Lord Chatham such compliments as carry a condition with them, and either bind him firmly to the cause or become the bitterest reproach to him if he deserts it."—*Junius,* Vol. ii. p. *290. Junius to Woodfall says, "Between ourselves let me recommend it to you to be upon your guard with patriots." —*Junius,* Vol. i. p. *238.—Edit.

reflections

1745. reflections are dispassionate, thus far at least, that I have conceived no prejudice against any person named in these Memoirs, from any disobligation to myself: far otherwise; I had intimacies to a degree of friendship with most of them; but as those intimacies were contracted on the public account, when that cause was deserted by them, their society was abandoned by me. There was a time too, when I was forsaken by fortune, and endured all the calamity which can befall a man in trade; yet, in the day of distress, I returned not to those powerful friends, who were really willing and able to assist me: industry was my resource; I opened a new scene, repaired my losses, and maintained my independence; renewed and extended my acquaintance with the greatest, and by that situation obtained an insight into the springs of those actions and events which I now communicate to writing in the year 1757. Should this narrative hereafter merit the attention of any reader, let him be reminded that an author who professes to authenticate facts from his

his own knowledge, must of necessity speak frequently of himself. It would be difficult for the best of writers to characterize his own talents and accomplishments without the charge of vanity; but if with the assent of his conscience he can declare, that his intention has ever been upright, and consistency of conduct his study, such a description of himself may surely pass uncensured; and it is to the character of an honest and consistent man, that I lay my claim, to nothing further; and so far I think myself entitled to belief. 1745.

I leave to its own notoriety the war with Spain and France. It was concluded in May, 1748, by a general pacification at Aix la Chapelle. I shall only observe, that as our peculiar disappointments were owing to ourselves, wanting both Statesmen and Commanders, economy, discipline, and conduct; the calamities which involved the rest of Europe, may be justly and primarily imputed to the King of Prussia. On the death of the Emperor Joseph he set up an old and dormant claim to four duchies in Silesia, invades that province 1748.

1748. province and Bohemia, while the French and Bavarians penetrate into Austria. The Queen of Hungary purchases a peace with the Prussians by a cession of more than he claimed in Silesia: this was ratified by the treaty of Breslaw. She then conquers Bavaria, whose prince had been newly* elected Emperor by the power of France and Prussia, drives the French out

* It must not be forgot, that our king went to Hanover at the time a French army was advancing into Westphalia under Maillebois. I will not affirm that the Electoral vote was absolutely promised to the Duke of Lorraine, while he was in England; but I believe he, and every one besides, understood that the king intended to give him his vote. The French army consisted of thirty to thirty-five thousand men at most. We had at that time twelve thousand Hessians in our pay and at the king's command, which, added to the Electoral troops, might have encouraged a prince of the least magnanimity to have supported his dignity; but the fear of Maillebois, and the plain language of his bullying emissary Bussy, compelled the king to vote against the Duke of Lorraine, and in a manner inconsistent with our constitution to send orders, unauthorised by any English secretary of state, to Admiral Haddock, then at Gibraltar with a powerful naval force, to suffer the Spanish squadron to enter the Mediterranean unmolested; which afterwards joined the Toulon fleet, and gave battle to our's under Matthews and Lestock.

of

of Germany with the loss of four score thousand men, the flower of their troops, and the next year carried terror and desolation into France itself, by sending her victorious army across the Rhine. 1748.

France, in distress, bribes the King of Prussia, who, in defiance of the late treaty of Breslaw, invades the Austrian dominions a second time, commits the most inhuman acts of devastation, compels the Queen to recall her army for her own protection; and thus relieves, if not preserves the inveterate foe of Europe. I judge not of princes by the rules of morality, before whose tribunal they would all be condemned in their turns, and undergo the severest punishments, if executioners were not wanting to the laws of nature and of justice, and the folly and servility of mankind were not the safeguard of kings. I make this reflection, as I pass, merely for its truth. The indignation and hatred of the King and people of England, survived in abuse and execrations on the King of Prussia, till 1755; when, on a sudden, that fiend becomes the brightest of beings,

and

1748. and the admired Queen of Hungary detestable; yet the truth of my reflections remains, in this case, on as permanent foundations as before.

Pelham died. March 6, 1754.

In March, 1754, Mr. Henry Pelham died. He was originally an officer in the army, and a professed gamester; of a narrow mind, low parts, of an affable dissimulation and a plausible cunning; false to Sir Robert Walpole, who raised him; and ungrateful to the Earl of Bath, who protected him. By long experience and attendance, he became considerable as a Parliament-man; and even when Minister, divided his time to the last, between his office and the club of gamesters at White's. I will add a few particulars of my own knowledge; which, from their minuteness, could not have come under public observation, at least, not like many of the above notorious facts.

In the year 1741, when I appeared at the bar of the House of Commons in behalf of the Merchants against the Commissioners of the Admiralty, I called for a certain letter, which I knew was upon the

the table. Mr. Pelham rose, and in the most soothing and persuasive manner intreated me not to demand that paper; I persisted the more, seeing he was solicitous to conceal that piece of evidence, and being likewise perfectly well apprised of the contents. He rose again, and assured me, the paper contained nothing to my purpose. Mr. Rowland Frye, who stood by me, whispered me upon this, "The false fellow wants to deceive you." I still persisted; and Mr. Pelham rising a third time, was shameless enough to assure me, that as a friend to the petitioning merchants, he begged the paper might not be read. This strange debate continued, till the Speaker called out from the gallery, that if the gentleman insisted on the paper's being read, it must; and it was read accordingly, and acknowledged by several members to me, particularly by Mr. Lyttelton, that it was the most material evidence produced that day. Mr. Frye, who was less engaged than I was, has often repeated to me every circumstance as related above. 1754.

1754. Sampson Gideon. Sir John Barnard.

In the year 1746, Mr. Pelham had given to Sampson Gideon,* and other low monied-men, the most abominable job for the loan of that year. Sir J. Barnard not only opposed it, but offered in Parliament, that if the money must be raised by a job, he would undertake to furnish it half a million cheaper. His opposition met with no success; however, Mr. Pelham had the discretion to consult with Sir John Barnard on those matters ever after.

In 1738, Sir John undertook to borrow six millions three hundred thousand pounds, by giving to the lenders seven millions of Annuities at 4 per cent. The public subscribed as far as nine millions. When Pelham heard of this success, without the least communication with his friend and counsellor, who had pledged his reputation

* Of this man, Horace Walpole writing to Henry Seymour Conway, Oct. 29, 1762, says, "I forgot to tell you that Gideon, who is dead worth more than the whole land of Canaan, has left the reversion of all his milk and honey, after his son and daughter and their children, to the Duke of Devonshire, without insisting on his taking the name, or even being circumcised."—EDIT.

that

that no more than six millions three hundred thousand pounds should be borrowed, he resolved to take advantage of the people's forwardness, and increase the sum to seven millions. Sir John Barnard charged him with the design, he did not deny it; but on Sir John's expressing the utmost indignation at this imposition on himself and the public, threatening to make it known, and that he would release the vast number of his own subscribing friends from their engagements, Mr. Pelham yielded, and by his flattery and hypocrisy soon pacified Sir John, who not only forgave him, but was not less his friend than before. 1754.

In 1750, Sir John made that celebrated motion in the House for the reduction of interest from 4 to 3½ per cent. for seven years, and then to 3 per cent. for ever, on all the public funds. Mr. Pelham indeed concurred, but trembled at the undertaking; and I must confess, that as Sir John trusted to mere argument, without the least degree of management, it was a bold attempt. I could appeal to Mr. Onslow, speaker of the House of Commons, as well as to Sir

1754. John, that I was the second instrument in facilitating the success of this enterprise. There was but one more, a friend of mine, Mr. Broyden by name, who joined us in combating the whole monied interest in the kingdom; Pelham was awed, and rather discouraged than aided our operations: however, we had influence to prevail on numbers to subscribe, and largely at first; then, by means of those subscribers, who in course were become auxiliaries, the influence grew more extended, and by the help of a little bullying too, the project was accomplished, and three hundred and seventy-five thousand pounds per annum was saved to the nation.

Sir John Barnard expected, which was more than I did, that Pelham would cooperate with him in the second part of his plan, which was to apply all these savings, and as much more of the sinking fund, as would discharge a million annually of the national-debt; others expected that at least some of the heaviest taxes on the poorer sort would be abolished on this happy incident. Pelham might have flattered

tered these expectations in all; I am sure 1754.
he deceived Sir John Barnard, and amused him with the hope of accomplishing his plan at a proper time, which Pelham was determined should never come: in the mean while Sir John was content with the Court and observance paid him, of which the whole Pelham family were ever most profuse, even to servility. I must take notice, that at the time Sir John Barnard made this attempt, 3 per cent. annuities were considerably above par, to the best of my remembrance about 4 per cent., or between 3 and 4: what I call bullying, was nothing more than writing and talking, that those who refused to subscribe to the reduction would be paid off, and consequently fare the worse by 3 or 4 per cent. above par; though if the majority had refused, we should have been puzzled to have found money for the putting our threat into execution; and the Legislature's beginning the attempt, without the least provision of money in hand, I call mismanagement, and an imprudent degree of confidence in Sir John Barnard.

1754. I am now in the 46th year of my age; the ardour of youth is abated; the mind grown stronger by experience, familiar with ill-fortune both to myself * and my country, guarded against the delusion of popularity, and above the pride resulting from the occasional countenance of *unsought* confidence of men in high station, of which I propose to make no further use, than to delineate with accuracy and truth the causes of this nation's fall, which my ill-boding judgment foresees to be inevitable.†

* Mr. Glover was born in the year 1712. Married Miss Hannah Nunn, May 21, 1737, by whom he had two sons, but was divorced in 1756. His divorce bill, after having passed the House of Lords, was read the first time in the House of Commons, Feb. 5, 1756.—See the Journal of the House of Commons, vol. xxvii. p. 432.—EDIT.

† This was also the melancholy character of Junius's mind. "Both the cause and the public are given up; I feel for the honour of this country, when I see that there are not ten men in it, who will unite and stand together upon any one question. But it is all alike vile and contemptible."—*Junius*, vol. i. p.*255. "I am in earnest, because I am convinced, as far as my understanding is capable of judging, that the present ministry is driving this country to destruction."—*Junius*, vol. iii. p. 202.—EDIT.

To

To paint folly in the various shades and colours of hope and fear, of exultation, dejection, resentment, and rage, in a vain, dissolute and refractory people, presuming still on an imaginary superiority, yet obstinately blind to its own defects and weakness, to describe subjects without subordination, laws uninforced, magistrates without authority, fleets and armies without discipline in the midst of an unsuccessful war, to set forth the supineness of an effeminate gentry, the corruption of a servile and dependent senate, the ignorance, incapacity, timidity, rashness, pride, and ambition, holding sway by turns at some periods, at others jarring and encountering to the utter confusion of Administration, under a doting, mean, spiritless, covetous,* prejudiced, 1754.

* The King's avarice would lead him to actions repugnant to common honesty. On the death of his father, the Archbishop of Canterbury delivered him the late King's will in the Council-chamber: he thrust it into his bosom, walked out, and secreted it ever after. It happened that the Duchess of Kendell, mistress to King George the First, had a duplicate copy of the Will, in which was a legacy of fifty thousand pounds to her daughter, afterwards married

1754. prejudiced, undiscerning Prince whose decisions, like those of Chaos, serve but to embroil the fray; to display a scene of this nature, and know it to be a representation of the land one inhabits, at the same time to exhibit truth pure and untinctured by passion, requires that unconcern which despair alone can produce in the human mind. It is enough to have lamented, and beyond the means of a private station to have opposed the impending calamity; when the measure of popular vices and follies is full, and co-

to the Earl of Chesterfield. This nobleman consulted Mr. Joseph Taylor, an eminent attorney and member of the House of Commons, on the means of recovering this legacy. Mr. Taylor acted with so much spirit, that rather than have the will brought into the Ecclesiastical Court, the King thought proper to pay the legacy, which he otherwise intended to keep for ever in his own pocket, as he had done till that time. This is an incontestible fact. What other legacies might have been in the Will I pretend not to ascertain. It was said there was some devise of money or jewels to the King of Prussia. Be that as it may, there never was a greater degree of rancour between two persons than the Kings of England and Prussia; and neither, for many years, could speak of the other, but in the most abusive terms.

operating

operating with selfish and ambitious rulers, 1754.
renders a nation contemptible, an honest individual who can assuage his aching heart with indifference, may stand justified not less to his own conscience, than to the unmeriting herd.

Composing such a narrative, and endeavouring to establish such a temper of mind, I cannot at intervals refrain from regret, that the capricious restrictions in the Duchess of Marlborough's Will, appointing me to write the life of her illustrious husband, compelled me to reject the undertaking. There, conduct, valour, and success, abroad; prudence, perseverance, learning, and science, at home, would have shed some portion of their graces on their historian's page, and enlivened his cheerful labours; a mediocrity of talent would have felt an unwonted elevation in the bare attempt of transmitting so splendid a period to succeeding ages. Truth unadorned, in all the simplicity of a mourner I now pursue, and, having unburthened my heart in a melancholy digression, return to my plain narration.

I have

1754. I have already observed that Henry Pelham, First Commissioner of the Treasury, and Chancellor of the Exchequer, died in March, 1754. His brother Hollis, Duke of Newcastle, succeeded as First Minister, and taking the Treasury under his own management, made Henry Legge Chancellor of the Exchequer, and put Sir Thomas Robinson into the office of Secretary of State, which had been held upwards of thirty years by the Duke. About this time intelligence came from Virginia of the hostilities commenced between the English and French on the banks of the Ohio; an alarming event, presaging all the evils which it afterwards produced through the neglect and irresolution of the Minister. A large tract of land between the Ohio and those mountains which the French call the just boundaries of Virginia, had been granted to some planters of that country, and some merchants of London, not many years before. When this society at last began to settle these lands, the French took umbrage, marched against the settlers, and destroyed a small fort, which

which had been lately erected by the proprietors for the security of their new possession. The French abstained from bloodshed, and contented themselves with the expulsion of our people. In resentment of this violence a body of Virginian militia advanced under the command of Major Washington, who put to the sword about thirty French in the First encounter; but was afterwards surprised himself, and beat back with loss and disgrace. 1754. Washington.

The right of these useless lands was not a question worth resolving, in my estimation; but whether they were worth a contest by the sword, was a point which merited the serious consideration of England. England was wild for a war singly with France; a perpetual naval war was the cry of the people promoted by the trading part, whose interested members look on war as their harvest, and are ever ready to feed the sanguine hopes and confidence peculiar to this nation, and which had got to so fatal a height at this juncture. The infectious frenzy spread through all orders of men. The King and his

1754. his Minister only were pacific, not through knowledge and judgment, but from perplexity and cowardice. The same unmanly spirit, which preferring peace through fear could be hurried by the public impetuosity into a war, must naturally begin and conduct it with irresolution and tameness; opportunities favourable at first to vigorous measures were irretrievably neglected; every advantage proceeding from delay was given to an enemy superior in national strength directed by their ministry with steadiness at least, and some attention to national honour and welfare. We should either have resolved to relinquish the trifle in dispute, or struck an immediate blow in America; and at the same time had our governors weighed the superior national strength of the enemy against our own, they should have established a general militia, the only means of security to an inferior nation.

Charles Townshend.

A plan of operation in North America was concerted by Mr. Charles Townshend, then Commissioner of the Admiralty, and myself, and laid before his uncle, the Duke of

of Newcastle, about the beginning of September. The proposition was obvious, requiring moderate talents in its conception, but spirit and diligence in its execution. It was to conduct directly three thousand regulars for New England, to send three hundred thousand pounds, and a number of old serjeants and corporals into that province, that the inhabitants of so martial and populous a colony might be trained and enabled to take the field early in the spring, 1755. The French at that time had not a thousand regulars in all Canada; and allowing the natives an equality with ours in discipline and spirit, they were not undoubtedly a tenth of our number. An attack on Louisburg or Quebec was my intention, and the men of New England who had taken the former, in last war, were willing to have made an attempt on either, if properly supported by the Mother Country. 1754.

It was on the 15th September, that his Majesty was pleased to appear again in England, after an absence of four months and a half. His transactions in Germany, with 1755.

1755. with their consequences in England, must now find their places in this Narration. During the first part of the summer he was amused by Monsieur de Bussy, the French Envoy, who, it seems, was very acceptable at the Court of Hanover; though he had appeared there formerly as the bully of Maillebois, when that Marshal, at the head of an army in Westphalia, compelled the King to vote for the Emperor Charles of Bavaria, and to sign the infamous neutrality for the Mediterranean: this Envoy was ordered home about the time that the Duc de Mirepoix, ambassador from France to the English Court, returned to Paris; their departure was towards the end of July, immediately after the intelligence of the hostilities committed by Boscawen on the French fleet off Newfoundland. On the 18th of the preceding month his Majesty concluded a treaty with the Landgrave of Hesse, whose son was married to the Princess Mary. This treaty was to secure twelve thousand Hessians to serve, as occasion required, in Germany, the Netherlands,

Great

Great Britain and Ireland, upon terms so exorbitant, as plainly discovered that his Majesty's economy was confined merely to his private affairs, and not exerted in behalf of the public. On the 30th of September following, he concluded another treaty with Russia, calculated for the protection of Hanover against that hated and dreaded neighbour the King of Prussia. The inveteracy of the Empress against a Prince who had formerly espoused that branch of the imperial family, which she had dethroned and banished to Siberia, enabled our negociators to make a treaty upon reasonable conditions; the twelve thousand Hessians were to cost us 300,000*l.* annually, when in actual service; whereas the expense of fifty-five thousand Russians, and forty to fifty gallies in the Baltic, would amount to no more than 500,000*l.* 1755.

It was further designed to induce the Court of Vienna to act in conformity with the barrier-treaty, by keeping twenty-four thousand men in readiness to act in the Low Countries, and at the same time make

1755: make the Dutch augment their troops. The Princess Gouvernanté undertook to persuade the States-General, but failed in the attempt. Nor had our endeavours at Vienna any better success. That power would not join with us and Holland to defend the Low Countries, if attacked by France, unless we would assist in the recovery of Silesia.

It is remarkable, that the first quarter of the money due on the subsidiary part of the Hessian treaty, was demanded of the Treasury during the interval of Parliament, and allowed by three out of four commissioners present at the board on that occasion. The three were the Duke of Newcastle, Lord Duncannon, and Nugent, a jovial and voluptuous Irishman, who had left Popery for the Protestant religion, money and widows: the fourth was Mr. Legge, who disclaimed the unconstitutional demand in favour of a treaty unauthorised by Parliament, and refused his hand to the warrant. This gallant procedure occasioned a change among the placemen. Sir George Lyttelton, of all men the

the most unfit, was created Chancellor of the Exchequer in the room of Mr. Legge. Fox, a creature of the Duke of Cumberland, succeeded to Sir Thomas Robinson as a Secretary of State, Lord Barrington to Fox, as Secretary at War. 1755. Lyttelton created Chancellor November 22d.

These alterations took place in November; the Parliament met on the 13th of that month. I think it was some time in December that Mr. Pitt and his party went out of place. In the course of this year, 1755, I had frequent occasion of observing, that a powerful party against the Minister was forming; that men who for years had served the Pelhams in high and lucrative employments, foreseeing the approaching perplexities of a weak Prince and a weak Administration, were preparing to break through the cloud of public disapprobation, and step forwards once more upon the theatre of popularity.

I met Mr. Pitt at Mr. Dodington's; the Grenvilles his relations, whom I had long known full of family disgusts against him, now repaired to his house after an interval of many years: and had his nature been Dodington. Character

1755. capable of consistency, and common prudence directed his only pursuit, a *profitable place*, he might with their support and foundation, his own social accomplishments, wit, plausibility, literature, and long experience in the forms of public business, have stood an eminent character in times like these, so destitute of great men. All these qualifications, with the addition of elegance, magnificence and wealth, wanting judgment and discretion, could not protect his old age from ridicule and neglect. So necessary is firmness and uniformity of conduct, to procure even from the imperfect part of mankind, the confidence requisite to maintain the unworthy pre-eminence among them.

Among the last of his friends who did not desert him, I count myself. Public connexions first made our acquaintance; I was well apprised of his temper and character, therefore was never deceived by him: won by his private good qualities, friendship beyond professions, industry and alacrity to serve and oblige, I always kept up my intimacy, and had really more

weight

weight with him than any man had, though less than the least of his own interested projects. I was continually with him all that summer. Fox was there frequently, and seemed anxious for Dodington's opinion and advice. I soon perceived the latter trimming between Pitt and Fox, though assuring me that he would unite with no cabal, but stand on his own bottom, and publicly declare his sentiments unbiassed. This I encouraged, wishing sincerely well to a man whose company gave me pleasure. 1755.

When the Hessian treaty was made known, (that apparent job,) and the spirited behaviour of Legge, it at once struck out a plan of opposition. Dodington was among the foremost; Pitt depended much upon him, and was even deluded by Fox, not indeed from any promise, but indications that he would take part with them on the Hessian treaty: certain it is, that hopes were entertained of Fox's concurrence in the plan to overthrow the Duke of Newcastle, and that the opposition was to take its rise from both the foreign

 treaties:

1755. treaties: it is as certain, that the Duke of Newcastle considered Fox as a secret enemy. Fox, by amusing Pitt, provoked him beyond reconciliation; and by endeavouring to supplant Newcastle, he frightened him into a diffidence, as hurtful to Fox as Pitt's resentment.

Charles Townshend, called silver-tongued.

The opening of the session was now at hand; Charles Townshend, from the mere pleasure of fishing in troubled waters, enlists under Pitt; the country gentlemen, and the public, add their weight: in the midst of all, Fox quits his place as Secretary of War, and on the 14th of November accepts the Secretaryship of State. As Pitt had for some time past rejected any compromise with the Court on the conditions they proposed, and consequently a resignation of employments, or displacing him and his friends, was expected, Fox holds up these alluring objects to Dodington; he melts at once, passes a few harmless censures on the Hessian treaty when it was debated in the House, makes his court, in the same breath, to Hanover, shortly after steps into the Treasurership of

of the Navy, just vacated by his relation and new confederate George Grenville, is marked for perdition by that party, and becomes despised by every other beyond all redemption of character or weight with the lowest faction. I gave him a cold congratulation, having warned him before, that he could go into no office at that juncture without being the most unhappy of men. Here end the principal transactions of the year 1755. 1756.

During the whole sessions Mr. Pitt found occasion in every debate to confound the ministerial orators; his vehement invectives were awful to Murray, terrible to Hume Campbell;* and no malefactor under the stripes of an executioner was ever more forlorn and helpless than Fox appeared under the lash of Pitt's eloquence, shrewd and able in Parliament as he confessedly is: Dodington sheltered himself in silence. Pitt. Murray. Campbell. Fox. Dodington.

The troubles of this session, and the ex- George Townshend.

* Hume Campbell, only brother to the Earl of Marchmont. See *Horace Walpole's Works*, Vol. v. p. 27. *and the same* Vol. p. 347.—Edit.

1756. pectation of national calamity, drew at this juncture, from a state of indolence and oppression, under an inhuman father, a character new indeed, unstained, though long distressed in private life, unconnected with any faction, uninfluenced by any but public considerations; it was the father of the Militia-Bill, George Townshend, Knight of the Shire for Norfolk. Some detail of his history will prove no interruption to a subject unfolding events, where he bore the part of an able, active, disinterested Senator, whose domestic and public virtues, severe as I am on others, experience, not less than affection, prompts me to believe, will remain in every situation uncorrupt and unblemished.

He is son to Lord Viscount Townshend, and heir to ten thousand pounds a year. He acquired a knowledge of the classics by his private study at the University. Returning from thence, he was compelled, by the neglect and perverseness of his father, withholding from him all the means of living equal to his rank, to indulge a natural propensity to arms; and in that

that view, with an allowance shamefully stinted, unaccompanied and almost unattended, he passed over to Germany, and was a volunteer at the battle of Dettingen. He afterwards made an attempt to get into the Dutch service, but not succeeding, repaired to England, where he was received into our army, served as an Aide-de-camp to the Duke of Cumberland in Flanders, and at last was promoted in the Guards to the rank of Colonel. 1756.

The disgust between the Duke of Cumberland and him was notorious, and was certainly the cause of his quitting the service. The account he gave me himself, is as follows: On a vacancy for a Knight of the Shire, the county of Norfolk invited him to stand; he carried the election without opposition, except from his father Lord Townshend: an assembly was appointed of all the gentry, and a ball for the ladies on a certain day, where the presence of a young and new elected Member was indispensably necessary. He wrote to Mr. Fox, then Secretary at War, that the leave of absence from his regiment Fox.

1756. might be prolonged a fortnight; this being refused, he came up to London, and made his personal application to the Duke for this reasonable indulgence, which he persisted to refuse. Townshend then telling him, that a favour of this nature would be granted with three times the latitude to any officer whose vote in Parliament was firm to the Court, resigned his commission forthwith, and returned to his friends in Norfolk.

Soon after he married a most excellent woman, Lady Ferrars,* whose ample fortune, discretion, and economy have rendered him easy in his circumstances without the least present help from his father: happy in her and a numerous progeny, he can always alleviate at home the painful sensibility of his country's misfortunes: his proper and affectionate behaviour, as a husband and a father, I mention from my own knowledge, as our intimacy, founded on an agreement of opinions, makes me in a manner part of the family, and his house, my home.

* This lady died September 14th, 1770.—EDIT.

In

In his person, demeanour, and sentiments, he is the most manly of all human beings. Wit, humour, and an uncommon faculty of caricature with his pencil, render him agreeable to his friends, and formidable to those he dislikes. May time, which impairs every external grace, produce no such change in his virtues, as may ever throw upon my pen the melancholy obligation of altering this character, which truth and impartiality require me now to finish with a few shades! 1756.

His capital fault is indolence; but when he is engaged in any noble pursuit, that indolence changes not only to activity but impetuosity, which frequently misleads him into hasty and striking judgments of men, either in approbation or censure, and in that temper of his mind he puts himself too much in the power of the artful and designing: yet, in those seasons I have known him open to persuasion, and if not persuaded, acquiescing to the authority of a friend, whose judgment and integrity he reveres. His absence and inattention are extraordinary, and occasion many little errors

1756. errors in matters of form both public and private.

By this gentleman a Militia-Bill was prepared and prosecuted against all discouragements,—an instance of his unshaken adherence to right principles and measures. This Bill, repugnant to the sentiments of a court, unpleasing to an effeminate nobility and gentry, and seemingly burthensome to a languid and unmartial commonalty, passed the lower House without obstruction from the ministry, that it might miscarry in the House of Lords; where no one distinguished himself more in opposition to it than the Chancellor Lord Hardwicke, masking his own prostitution and servility under religious cant and hypocrisy, by declaiming against the profanation of the Sabbath, which was the day appointed in the Bill for the assembling and training the people to arms. I here close the transactions in Parliament, which rose on the — —

The French, whose passive conduct in appearance, hitherto had been feeding the English vanity, by abstaining from all moles-

molestation of our trade, were at length discovered to have been preparing all the autumn of 1755, and the beginning of 1756, to make a descent on the Island of Minorca. On the 29th of January Salvert sailed with a squadron from Brest to St. Domingo; D'Aubigny with another, but smaller, from Rochefort to Martinico on the 23d February; and Beaussier, with a third for Canada, some time in March; where, by intelligence afterwards, he landed about 5,000 men, partly at Louisbourg, and partly at Quebec. In opposition to these measures, let our motions be taken into consideration. To enter the field first in America was always the object of our councils. The Generals, Web and Abercrombie, with two battalions, took their departure from Plymouth for New York, not before the 20th of April. The Commander in Chief, Lord Loudon, after many delays of his transports, which carried tents, ammunition, artillery, and entrenching tools, was sent away without them on the 20th of May; and they were not dispatched till a fortnight after. The Stirling Castle 1756.

1756. Castle man of war, with an hundred thousand pounds to reimburse the colonies their expenses in 1755, and put them in motion for the year 1756, did not sail till the 15th of June.

The effects of these departures from France and England were easily foreseen. The Marquis de Montcalm, the new General from France, landed his forces at Quebec, before Loudon had made a quarter part of his voyage. Web, and Abercrombie, who sailed a month before him, got to Albany in time to hear of Montcalm's approach towards Oswego, a capital fort of our's on the Lake Ontario. While our troops were marching to its assistance, and had advanced about half the way, news was brought that the fort had surrendered on the 14th of August, an event which greeted Lord Loudon soon after his arrival at New York. He hastens to Albany, finds himself under a necessity of calling in all the garrisons from the Indian country, by which we left those allies at the mercy of the French; and after the conjunction of all the forces, Loudon was never

never in a condition to act offensively, but kept some stationed at proper posts, and employed the rest in throwing up works round Albany. I conclude the affairs of America with observing, that the American regiment of 4,000 was not complete in a twelvemonth after it had been voted, and that the conquest of Oswego put an end to the two regiments raised in New England in 1755, being the chief part of the garrison in that Fort, and consisting of no more than 700 together, though we reckoned upon them in England as two thousand. 1756.

This summary account, founded on incontestable dates and facts, would almost evince an utter dissolution of order and method in every office of Government. What shall be said of Admiral Byng's departure from Spithead so late as the 6th of April, with ten ships only of the line, unaccompanied by Frigates, Hospital-ship, or Tenders, on an absolute assertion of the Admiralty, that the French could equip no more than seven of the line from Toulon, when afterwards it was made clear Ad. Byng.

1756. clear that our ministry, in every branch, was in possession of intelligence all December, January, and February, that the French were meditating a descent upon Minorca in the spring, and were providing twelve ships of the line with that intent, of all whose names and force, lists had been received within the forementioned time, from a dozen different quarters?

On the 13th of April, the French fleet, consisting of twelve ships of the line, five frigates, and eighty transports, sailed from Toulon under La Galissionere; the troops aboard, to the number of 11,000, were commanded by the Maréchal Duc de Richelieu: they landed at Ciudadela in Minorca on the 18th. Admiral Byng, after a tedious passage of twenty-seven days, arrived with his ten ships on the 2d of May at Gibraltar, where he was fortunately reinforced by one 60 and two 50 gun ships, and four frigates, the whole of our naval force in the Mediterranean for many months before, and which had made their escape from the harbour of Mahon, while the French fleet was employed in landing

landing their troops on the opposite side of the island. 1756.

Byng sailed from Gibraltar on the 8th of May. Some time in the following month the copy of a letter from the French Admiral, La Galissionere, to his Court, was transmitted to D'Abreu, the Spanish Minister in London, with an account of an engagement between the French and English fleets, very little to the honour of the latter. On this single circumstance Sir Edward Hawke was dispatched to the Mediterranean with orders to supersede both our Admirals there, Byng and West, and send them home, together with Fowke, Governor of Gibraltar, who was charged with disobedience of orders in not putting on board the Fleet a detachment of 700 men from that garrison, pursuant to his instructions from the Secretary at War. Sir Edw. Hawke.

It was soon apparent, that no small injustice had been shewn to West, whose character remains unimpeached. Fowke was tried and broke; Byng, on his landing, was put under arrest, and confined a close prisoner in Greenwich Hospital. Those

1756. Those who did not live at this period, cannot by any description conceive the excess of national resentment and rage against that Commander, which was artfully and industriously fomented by a culpable Administration, that to his cowardice singly the disgrace of our army might be charged, together with the loss of Minorca, which, after a very indifferent defence, surrendered to Richelieu on the 29th of June. Unheard and untried, Byng was immediately devoted to destruction by King, Ministry, and People. The proceedings on his trial, sentence, and death, form a memorable æra, with circumstances so interwoven with subsequent events, that I here defer to enter into the particular detail.*

Sir

* I must not omit, that on the 15th of May, 6,000 Hessians landed at Southampton, and 8 or 9,000 Hanoverians at Chatham, on the 20th. The fear of an invasion had operated so strongly throughout this disarmed and unmilitary nation, that foreign forces were introduced among us, not with much reluctance on one part, though we afterwards raised our spirit just high enough to perceive that our apprehensions had been groundless, and either

Sir William Murray, the Attorney-general, was in the House of Commons the principal advocate of the minister: aware of his inferiority to Pitt in Parliament, and foreseeing the growing difficulties of the cause he was expected to defend, he had obtained from the Duke of Newcastle an absolute promise of a Peerage, and the office of Lord Chief Justice, in the room 1756. Lord Mansfield.

either through shame or a natural shyness of foreigners, began soon to murmur at their presence; however, they met with no ill treatment in England; but through the advice of the King, and the negligence of Government, no proper persons were appointed to receive them on their landing, and no interpreters distributed among them, by which neglect they were exposed to numerous cheats, particularly from our horse-jockeys. No accommodations were provided for them against the winter, not one in the Administration seemed to have remembered that that season would come again in its turn, or to have foreseen that *our* publicans were neither able nor willing to house and maintain them at a ruinous expense. Winter returned, these poor people remained in their camps, patient and resigned, well deserving all the hospitality they experienced from numbers of our gentry. A sum far short of £20,000 would have prevented their hardships; but the Parliament did not meet till December: a mere act of humanity would not draw one shilling from the King's own purse. War was declared on the 18th of May.

1756. of Sir Dudley Rider, who died the 25th of April.

The disgraceful loss of Minorca, and the gloomy aspect of North America, confirmed Murray's resolution of quitting the House of Commons. Inflexible to all the persuasions, supplications, and high offers of the Duke of Newcastle, that he would not desert his post in Parliament, Murray insisted on the promise, and was appointed Lord Chief Justice of the King's-bench, and created a Peer of England by the name and title of Lord Mansfield, on the 25th of October.

Fox, one of the Secretaries of State, resigned his employment some time before, convinced that Murray would not alter his determination, and unwilling as well as unable to bear a part any longer in an Administration sinking under the weight of national calamity and universal indignation. The Duke of Newcastle, the most trifling and incapable, yet of all men the most ambitious, struggling to the last for the continuance of power, offers the seals first to Lord Halifax, then to the Earl

Earl of Egmont. Them, he finds as averse 1756.
to enter a falling edifice as Fox was to remain there. At length he applies to Pitt through the channel of Lord Hardwicke, who presents a *carte blanche* for the admission of him and his friends into the highest employments of State under the Duke. Pitt, with a haughtiness confounding the meanness of Hardwicke, rejects the proposition, and disdains all union of actions or counsels with Newcastle. Thus driven to despair, that Minister resigns his employments likewise, leaving his master naked and helpless like himself.

Mr. Pitt, immediately after the interview with Hardwicke, doubting the sincerity of his report to the King, paid a visit to the Countess of Yarmouth; and to obviate the effects of the Chancellor's disingenuous and fallacious representation, which might be calculated to amuse, cajole, and gain time, fairly declared the truth to that lady, the King's mistress, amounting to no less than an absolute refusal to unite with the Duke of Newcastle; at the same time he professed his

1756. loyal attachment to his Majesty's person and family, which he was zealous to serve in any situation where his services could be rendered effectual. It is true, that as often as Mr. Pitt's name had been mentioned to the King, as one necessary to the Administration at this juncture, he broke out into the most ungracious violence of rage, abusing him with every ill name familiar among the most illiberal of his subjects; yet, when the resignation of Newcastle convinced him of his destitute condition, when he found his subjects flaming with resentment, his enemies triumphant abroad, and no one in his court hardy enough to fill the vacant offices of State, he at once sacrificed his pride to his fears, and condescended to make a personage of the Duke of Devonshire's rank his emissary to Pitt, and request him to propose his own terms.

Pitt. The eyes of an afflicted, despairing nation were now lifted up to a private gentleman of a slender fortune, wanting the parade of birth or title, of no family alliance, but by his marriage with Lord Temple's

ple's sister, and even confined to a narrow circle of friends and acquaintance. Under these circumstances Pitt was considered as the only saviour of England. True was it, that in the lucrative office of paymaster to the army his conduct had been clear and disinterested. All past offences were buried in oblivion. The love of power, and an ardent thirst for fame, were noble passions, honourable to him, and beneficial to his country, when their views were set in comparison with those which accompany the base attachment to money, the visible bane of our times. His good sense and spirit must surely discover, that neither power, nor fame, can be permanent without the foundation of virtue. His friends and relations shared in the public prepossession, the public overlooking their imperfections, and zealously promulgating their good qualities. Riot and intemperance, or the dissipation of time in idle pleasures, composed no part of their characters. Under Pitt they must be capable and useful in public employment. 1756.

Such were the reasonings and conclu-

1756. sions among men of all conditions; and at this crisis I was surprised one Saturday morning, about the end of October, with a visit from Mr. George Townshend. He told me, he was that instant come off his journey from Norfolk; invited to London by a letter from Pitt, he addressed himself to me for advice at this important conjuncture. I required some further information than either of us then had, of the principles and plan on which the new Administration was to be established. We set out from my house in the city to dine with our common friend Sir Richard Lyttelton,* a good natured, generous, and benevolent man, by far the best of his family. We there fortunately met with the principal persons of Pitt's small party, Lord Temple, George Grenville, Elliot, and some others of less note. Pitt himself was confined to his bed with the gout. It was now twelve years at least, since my own reserved behaviour and unpliant principles had

* He died Oct. 1, 1770. He was brother to the first Lord Lyttelton, and uncle to the present Lord Lyttelton. —Edit.

kept

kept me remote from this my once intimate and most favoured society. They received me with embraces, time seemed to have made no alteration in them towards me, they saluted me with repeating some stanzas of my own, lately published without a name, which they in compliment ascribed to no one but me, and whose sentiments they professed to adopt: a circumstance which renders the inserting of a few of those lines necessary in this place. 1756.

Ne'er shall discipline or merit
Britain's feeble standard wield,
Or an Inniskilling spirit
Train her numbers for the field;
Till calamity gigantic,
Striding o'er the venal land,
With unbridled rage and frantic,
Hath let loose perdition's band:

Till rude want, and desolation,
Food to pamper'd vice deny,
And despair and indignation
Absent virtue's place supply;
Then at last may preservation
In the people's arm be found,
The torn remnant of a nation,
Then may staunch the public wound.

1756. After dinner I had much private discourse with George Grenville, while Townshend conversed with the rest. Mr. Grenville most frankly revealed their whole plan, consisting of inquiries into past misconduct, the establishment of a militia, the excluding from power unpopular and undeserving men, and sending back the foreign forces, whose presence was now grown irksome to a kingdom recovered from its fright. I asked him what will be done with Holdernesse? That nobleman was Secretary of State, and had drawn a general odium upon him by a letter he had sent to the Mayor of Maidstone, requiring him to deliver up a Hanoverian soldier, who had been committed to trial for a theft, and whom the party aggrieved was bound over to prosecute in due course of law. I found my question not a little perplexed my friend; indeed I put it, knowing the difficulty which this accident created between them and the King, who absolutely refused to give up Holdernesse. Grenville replied, "what can we do? Lord Holdernesse desires to be tried for this supposed

posed breach of the Constitution. He offers fairly; can we insist on turning him out, in direct violence to the King's inclination; who charges himself with the whole blame, and is likewise willing that the affair should be examined in Parliament?" This act, I confess, was rather the effect of imprudence than any ill design; but it raised a clamour which had echoed throughout the kingdom, promoted by no one more than Mr. Pitt, who talked in a very high strain to Lord Hardwicke on the subject. 1756.

There were other reasons for displacing Holdernesse; he was justly thought unequal to his office, and a friend of the old ministry; whence it seemed indispensably incumbent on the new to fill his post with a friend of their own. Thus I remonstrated to Mr. Grenville, and recommending the necessity of acting up to their plan, without the least concession, I took my leave, with Townshend, to lodge that night at his house. We compared the informations we had severally received, and studied the list which was to compose the

new

1756. new Administration. I observed that Dodington was annihilated to make room for George Grenville, and that the very honourable office of Treasurer of the Household was allotted to Mr. Townshend. We were both much chagrined at the thought of continuing Holdernesse Secretary of State; we had no other objection to the distribution of offices upon the paper before us: Townshend would not acquiesce, but wrote that night to Lord Temple, assuring him, that all his services should be devoted to support the proposed plan of public measures; but that, if Holdernesse was to remain Secretary of State, he must excuse himself coming into any employment. While he was busied in writing, I set down my sentiments in the following manner, which I here transcribe, in the original phrase, uncorrected and unpolished.

1. Mr. Pitt should insist on a militia, and the dismission of the foreign troops,—on the strictest inquiry into past misconduct, —and make a reserve, absolutely not to involve the nation with the continent, in case

case he should at any time disapprove of such a measure. 1756.

2. He should insist on displacing all the efficient officers of the last Administration, and all others of every kind who are obnoxious to the public.

3. He must not give up one of these points to the King. In the present calamitous crisis, it is indispensably necessary, not only that the King should not be master; but that he should know and feel, he is not and ought not to be so.

4. This conduct of Mr. Pitt will be universally applauded without doors; if the King will not acquiesce, Mr. Pitt will have done his duty, and will be justifiably disengaged.

5. Calamitous events have set Mr. Pitt in his present high point of light. Fresh calamities will soon succeed, and raise him yet higher, and compel the King to these terms at last.

6. If it be alleged, that Mr. Pitt should pay some deference to the Houses of Parliament, the creatures of the late Administration, it is answered, No. He should think

1756. think of no other support, as Minister, in so dangerous a time, but the rectitude of his measures and intentions; if Parliament will not support these, that Parliament may become a victim of public despair, and he have this satisfaction, at least, of being the single man spared by an enraged and ruined nation.

Townshend. Pitt. Mr. Townshend entreated that he might communicate these propositions to Mr. Pitt, without concealing the author. Their first interview was on the Monday following. Townshend frankly declared, that his sentiments upon the present conjuncture were contained in a short paper composed by an old acquaintance of Mr. Pitt's; and on his inquiring who it was, mentioned my name. He was in bed, and so helpless with pain, that Townshend read the paper to him: he gave his assent, excepting to no part, assuring him that that paper contained his sentiments likewise. One circumstance, minute indeed, but serving to illustrate his character, must not be omitted. Mr. Townshend told me, that when he came to the fifth article, which ascribes

ascribes Pitt's exaltation merely to calamitous events, without any compliment to his abilities or merit, he shrunk back;—Townshend perceiving his pride was hurt, interposed a manly comment, that whatever esteem the author might have for him personally, this was not an occasion to make compliments, but to state facts and argument; Pitt soon recollecting himself, answered, I understand my friend perfectly, I agree with him entirely. 1756.

From these conversations on the Saturday, first with a set of men enlivened by the prospect of power and emoluments,—afterwards with Townshend, more animated still with his own zeal and rapid ideas —I passed, on the Sunday following, to a forlorn interview with one sinking under the dismal certainty of losing his place, without a remnant of public character, or the least consciousness of public virtue to assuage his wounded spirit; this was with Mr. Dodington at Hammersmith. I candidly imparted to him the great business in agitation, and gave him warning of his own fate. Nothing, indeed, had passed which Dodington.

any

1756. any party might be ashamed of; nor did I ever find him capable of abusing the confidence of a friend. By him I learnt some curious incidents from the other quarter. Two main propositions in our plans, I found, must have taken place without any requisition of ours.

The Duke of Newcastle, when he resigned his office, insisted at the same time on a formal scrutiny into his conduct; and the return of the foreign forces had been a point determined by the King himself, who wanted their services in Hanover, early the ensuing spring. As to the militia, says Dodington, such a one as it will be, you would have had from the old ministry; and it is most true, that he wrote to me in the summer on that subject, and proposed to consult with Lord Hardwicke upon it; to this I replied, that always suspecting unfair dealing from this channel, and that a snake in the grass would lie concealed even under a militia of his contriving, I earnestly entreated Mr. Dodington to have no concert with the Chancellor on that head, and for that reason declined to give my

my sentiments. It must likewise be observed, that after the Duke of Newcastle's unsuccessful application to Pitt, Fox undertook to be an emissary, and meeting Pitt on one of the landing-places of the stair-case in Leicester-house, accosted him with saying, that he came from the King, who was very desirous of taking Mr. Pitt into his service. You, Sir? replies Mr. Pitt with a look which implied the utmost aversion and contempt; are *you* come from the King? Fox persisting to have some more explicit answer, was told by Mr. Pitt, with a haughtiness peculiar to himself, that he had none to give him. Must I understand, rejoins Fox, that you refuse to send an answer, because it is through me? Sir, says Pitt, when his Majesty shall condescend to signify his pleasure to me, by any one entitled to my confidence and esteem, I shall not be wanting in expressions of duty to his Majesty, and devotion to his service. This was the substance of their conversation; the words may differ, and I sincerely believe are rather weakened by my relation. Dodington assured me, that 1756.

Lord

1756. Lord Granville had used his endeavours to persuade Fox to take upon him the Administration in defiance of Pitt and all the dangers of the present crisis: Fox most prudently rejected the proposal; and Granville a few days after united himself with Pitt.

During the treaty with that gentleman, some new and striking incident, highly to his advantage, became daily the topic of every conversation in the capital, and promulgated by fame to the most distant parts, had animated the minds of people with rapturous admiration, ascribing to their supposed deliverer all the talents, genius, and virtue, which the credulity of hope could suggest, or their own distresses require. A pleasing expectation stole upon the most rigid, effacing the remembrance of past failures, till even those few, who, long harassed with evil times, had quitted all public concerns, on this occasion, stept out of their retirement to join the nation in support of Mr. Pitt. Among the foremost was the old Earl of Westmoreland, a veteran patriot, slow, but solid; always meaning

Ld. Westmoreland.

meaning well, and therefore judging right. 1756.
He was the only Whig of note who voted against the Septennial Act, the only military officer who constantly opposed the army, and spoke in favour of a Place Bill. From his uninfluenced conduct Sir Robert Walpole once drew an argument to shew the little necessity of excluding placemen from the House of Commons; and had the assurance the very next sessions to turn him out of a commission, not given to him, but purchased by him at the expense of 6,000*l.* Unchanged in principles and actions, through the course of a long life, this nobleman gave a sanction to Pitt's elevation. Sir Francis Dashwood and Lord Talbot, eminent, and hitherto consistent men, and Earl Stanhope, of the most pure and philosophical integrity, concurred with the public choice of a Minister. The country gentlemen deserted their hounds and their horses, preferring for once their parliamentary duty; and under their new Whig leader, the gallant George Townshend, displayed their banner for Pitt. The Prince of Wales and his Court,

Earl Stanhope.

1756. the powerful City of London, the majority of the Clergy, Law and Army, together with the whole populace, cordially and full of hope, co-operated in this signal event.

The only discontented were the King and both Houses of Parliament; the first grossly retaining his ancient prejudices, the two last dreading a change, which might lessen the price of corruption.* To these may be added two small bands; one, headed by Lord Egmont and Sir George Lee, formerly the rulers of Leicester-house, but supplanted by Lord Bute, who had introduced Mr. Pitt to the favour and confidence of that quarter; they had resigned their employments, and now formed a little faction of their own: the other had no less a leader than the Duke of Cumberland, with the Duke of Bedford and

* "The triplet union of Crown, Lords and Commons against England displays itself with a violence and a candour, which statesmen in other conspiracies seldom have adopted."—"What has an Englishman now to hope for? He must turn from King, Lords, and Commons, and look up to God and himself if he means to be free."—*Junius*, Vol. iii. p. 344 and 349.—EDIT.

Fox

Fox for subalterns. Each of these parties disliked the other, the Duke of Newcastle more, but Pitt the most of all. 1756.

The experienced Waller was of all men the most zealous for the new Administration. Forgetting his former ill-treatment from them, he posts up from Beaconsfield, and appears the next morning in my chamber with all the hopes and vigour of youth. He was pleased to approve of what I had said, written, or done; however, he was unwilling to put the new system in hazard, by persisting too far in the removal of Holdernesse, and entreated me to employ my weight with the Townshends, particularly the Colonel, to go into place; as sufficient numbers seemed wanting to take full possession of the Administration. This I represented to Colonel Townshend, but made little impression. He said, the part he had to act, was to be the servant of Pitt, while Pitt served his country; the being in place would not render him more so, and the being out, was more proper, as well as more agreeable to him, who was determined to undertake the whole burthen of the

1756. inquiries and Militia-Bill: and it happened that a tolerable shift was made without him.

At last this great transaction was brought to a conclusion. Pitt and Holdernesse were to be Secretaries of State; Earl Temple, First Lord of the Admiralty;* the Duke of Devonshire, First Lord of the Treasury; Legge, Chancellor of the Exchequer; George Grenville, Treasurer of the Navy; and the Court of Chancery was put into commission, consisting of Lord Chief Justice Willes and the Judges Wilmot and Smythe. No alteration was made in the army. Pitt did not chuse to make an attack, at that time, on the Duke of Cumberland. By these means Lord Barrington remained Secretary at War, a place much wanted by Charles Townshend, who, full young for such high pretensions, but conceiving more highly of his own desert, accepted, with discontent and disdain, the office of Treasurer to the Chambers, worth, as he told me, 2,700*l.* a year.

* Appointed November 20th, 1756.—Edit.

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The continuance of Holdernesse in his great office, and the appearance of Nugent's name among the commissioners of the Treasury, staggered many without doors. The crime of the first, in taking the Hanoverian delinquent from the civil magistrate, was altogether imputable to the Privy Council, approving that unconstitutional measure under the influence, and by the opinion of two such lawyers as Hardwicke and Murray. A plausible excuse was made, that Holdernesse should be tried for the misdemeanor, and it would be unjust to punish without a trial. I asked Lord Temple why Nugent was left in the Treasury? he replied, with his usual frankness, that Lord Granville insisted upon it, and there was no contending with that new and potent ally, who had so much personal weight in the Cabinet. 1756.

The Treasury was settled on the 16th November, the Admiralty on the 20th. Mr. Pitt was appointed Secretary of State on the 4th of December, two days after the Parliament met.

1756. On the first of December, the eve of the Parliament's meeting, an accident little regarded by the public drew the attention of thinking people. The King's speech being prepared by Mr. Pitt, the most remarkable part of which was the recommendation of a Militia; the addresses of the two houses were settled likewise, one left to the care of Mr. Pitt, the other to the Duke of Devonshire. Lord Temple was at this time confined to his bed with a fever, and was accidentally informed, that in the meeting of the Lords, consulted in drawing up their Address, the Duke had consented to the insertion of a clause of thanks to his Majesty for having brought over his electoral troops. Lord Temple knowing that such a clause was not in the Address of the Commons, and provoked at the Duke of Devonshire's acquiescence, without the privity of Mr. Pitt or himself; signified, by a message to the Duke, the day before the Houses were to meet, that if the clause stood, he would come down, sick as he was, and singly oppose it. The Duke

Duke of Devonshire replied, about one o'clock the next day, that he was sorry for the accident, but that it was too late, and not in his power to make any alteration. 1756.

I was at the House of Lords that day, where Lord Temple, just risen from a sick bed, and with a blister on his back, made a most manly and spirited speech against the clause, and was seconded by no one Lord except Earl Stanhope. Temple was obliged to return home immediately after his speech, and the Address, with the clause of thanks, passed *nem. con.* Almost at the same instant the Address of the Commons passed without such a clause *nem. con.* likewise. Upon this success in the House of Lords, the King plucks up his perverse spirit, and insists on the recommitting of the Address in the Commons, a proceeding extremely unusual, that the same clause of thanks might be inserted. Mr. Pitt at once gave him to understand, that he would not only oppose any such attempt, but would also refuse the seals, in case it were made. The

1756. Earl of Granville here interposed, at whose persuasions the King gave way to Mr. Pitt. This circumstance is mentioned to shew the spirit of Pitt, as well the little reliance there was to be had on the Duke of Devonshire.

The new Minister had no sooner vacated his seat in Parliament by his acceptance of the seals, than he was confined to his house by the gout, and nothing material was transacted from that day to the end of the year 1756.

1757. After the expectation raised by the preceding pages, it is scarcely credible to myself, that, while endeavouring to recapitulate the transactions of this interesting sessions, I should find them all within the old narrow circle, trite, trifling, and iniquitous, except one absurd deviation from the plain track of borrowing money for the annual supplies, where an affectation of doing better than well, ended in disappointment and disgrace.

Sir John Barnard was the Director, now grown old, yet less debilitated in body than in mind. He stole from a poor half-witted

witted zealot, Henriques, his gambling scheme of a guinea-lottery, and prevailed, to establish in effect, a gaming-table in every county, under the sanction of government, which held the fallacious box; that unlaxed indigence might be gulled into a contribution, when property only should pay to the public. This lottery consisted of a million of tickets; and out of the million of guineas subscribed, 550,000*l.* was to remain with the government, and 550,000*l.* in prizes among the adventurers. The next, was a scheme of raising 2,500,000*l.* by annuities for lives with a benefit of survivorship. I declared to the principal persons in power my utter dislike, and even contempt, of both these projects.* The lottery was kept open for six or seven months, and was not half filled at last. The sums subscribed to the life-annuities did not exceed an eighth part of the whole. 1757.

Fifty-five thousand seamen and marines, 49,749 landsmen for Great Britain, Guern-

* See Letters of Junius on Lord North's genius for finance, Vol. i. p. 52, and Vol. ii. p. 148.—Edit.

sey,

1757. sey, and Jersey were voted, and proper care taken to relieve the distressed Hanoverians and Hessians, who were re-embarked for their own country in the spring agreeably to the king's necessities and original design. These were matters of course; not one new measure of consequence was accomplished by the new ministry in parliament; it is true, the servile majority was against them;* their leader, Mr. Pitt, a great part of the time was restrained, by his indisposition, from attending the House; it may be urged, that from the certainty of losing every question, nothing could be done by them; but it is as certain that nothing of importance was attempted, but by Colonel Townshend; in those gallant attempts Pitt should have been the principal, or left a second part to him who was altogether pliant and subservient. He pressed the militia in behalf of his country, Pitt

* Junius always speaks of the Parliament as possessing a limited authority, Vol. i. p. *287, *289, 191, &c. and censures its acts with the same freedom when the decision of the majority was at variance with his opinion.—EDIT.

espoused

espoused it for the sake of popularity; it 1757.
was contrived, however, to mortify its noble parent by reducing the numbers to about 30,000, not one half of the old bill, and changing the training day from the Sunday to the Monday, for which purpose the bishops, and the cheap-bought tools among the dissenting clergy, were effectually employed, and for whose tender consciences Mr. Pitt expressed a tender concern. In fine, the bill passed modelled to the sense and relish of such court sycophants as Hardwicke.—

The inquiry into the loss of Minorca was begun, and prosecuted with equal activity, diligence, and integrity by the same gentleman, unassisted by any but Mr. Waller and myself. I never left him, examined, and digested all the evidence for him, and am a witness to his undiscouraged assiduity in comparing my collection of the evidence with his own, and with the original documents, transcribing every particular with their proper references in his own hand, and imprinting in his mind both method and matter; no Brief, though

less

1757. less comprehensive than his, was ever more accurately arranged, and no pleader more completely prepared.

This subject must be interrupted, as some facts must be traced back, and anecdotes revealed, preparatory to the great change which took place in the midst of the sessions, and several days before the opening of the inquiry.

The king's unalterable aversion to his new servants was notorious, from the cold and slighting reception he gave them on their kissing his hand. Awed by the spirit of Mr. Pitt, the King did not break the forms of civility to him. To his counsels he would grant a patient ear, but his heart, still in the hands of others, was unsusceptible of impression. Legge, who had refused to sign the warrant for the first quarter of the Hessian subsidy, and Dr. Hay, who had formerly been made King's advocate, but had frustrated the Duke of Newcastle's expectations of him, were both sinners not to be forgiven. Earl Temple was the most hated of all: he, against his own inclination, was put at the

the head of the Admiralty, and was obliged to transact with the King and the Duke of Cumberland all Pitt's business during his frequent indispositions, which rendered him incapable of personal attendance. His life was truly intolerable. His whole intercourse with the Duke of Cumberland consisted in reiteration to obtain for an American expedition the troops, which, after so much difficulty, were extorted at last, and were short of the number proposed. In the cabinet, whither this double duty of minister for the time, and at the head of the admiralty, continually led him, he experienced nothing but insults and ill manners. Temple seldom failed to express a manly and noble resentment on these occasions, and thereby rendered himself the more obnoxious. His demeanour in office was frank, ingenuous, unaffecting, and obliging to all, whether applying for his favour, or assisting him with advice and intelligence. Thus stood the new administration at court. 1757.

In the House of Commons the first who appeared

1757. appeared against them were Fox and Lord Egmont. Soon after the meeting, when Mr. Grenville had made a motion to quarter the foreign troops during their stay in England, these gentlemen took occasion to inveigh against the measure of sending such a force out of the country before our own troops were complete. Grenville, who supplied the place of Pitt, made answer, that there was a necessity for sending those troops back, intimating, that they were wanted, by the king, abroad. Lord Egmont, with a sneer, signified his wish, that no question might be put, because he was unwilling that it should go against the administration by a great majority. It is certain if a motion had been made to address his Majesty for the further detention of the foreign forces, it would have been carried against the administration. For my own part, I wish it had been made and carried, that the House might have undergone the mortification of the King's positive refusal. Another small opposition was formed to a very rational step of Mr. Pitt, the raising

two

two regiments in the Highlands, and transporting them to North America under the command of Mr. Montgomery and the master of Lovat, both men of character here, and of interest in Scotland. The Duke of Cumberland, who cared little for America, threw all the obstacles he could in the way, and when he could not succeed in defeating the project, refused to give the commanders the rank they were entitled to, and, instead of colonels-commandant, would make them no more than lieutenant-colonels. Montgomery told me that the duke refused the assistance of some old serjeants and corporals to train the men, and that a considerable time was spent before their arms could be procured from the Tower. 1757.

Not three months were now elapsed since the meeting of parliament, when it became apparent to the public, that the complexion of the King, Lords, and Commons, was so unfavourable to Mr. Pitt, that he was understood by all to be only *a nominal minister without a grain of power*, which he confirmed in those very words by

1757. by a declaration in the House. His bodily infirmities, together with these provocations, added peevishness to pride, and, growing daily more inaccessible and reserved, he rather lost than gained adherents. On one occasion he ran the hazard of being deserted by all the country gentlemen, hitherto his warmest friends, and to whom he had made some court.

It was about the middle of February when he had resolved to move for a vote of 200,000l. to assist his Majesty in forming an army of observation, &c., and towards enabling him to fulfil his engagement with the King of Prussia, &c.; this he determined without condescending to consult the country first; or even Colonel Townshend. I chanced to visit that gentleman on the eve of this intended motion. I found him much disconcerted and displeased; he told me this particular, and that all his friends took it most unkindly of Mr. Pitt. I soon perceived that the word unkind was used in a sense much stronger than its natural meaning. Mr. Townshend added, that Mr. Pitt intended

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to postpone the militia, which was the order of the house the next day, to make room for his motion. In fine it was probable, that an opposition would be made by the disgusted country gentlemen. I represented to Mr. Townshend the misfortune and weakness of destroying a whole system, because Mr. Pitt had been inadvertent and peevish; I conjured him to allow for his ill state of health and hasty temper; that he would pay him a visit the next morning, and use all his interest to mollify his ill humours, which were gathering. He replied, that he had already discoursed with Legge and George Grenville upon the subject, yet they seemed afraid to talk with Pitt about it, and had referred the task to him; yet he did not see that it was his affair more than theirs, and that he would not undertake a thing where he had no chance of success. He protested that this was not the effect of pride in himself; that he would run after any man with a prospect of serving the public, but in the present case the mischief was done, and past his power to retrieve. Upon this I rose, took him by the 1757.

1757. hand, and delivered myself thus: "My dear Mr. Townshend, I have no further arguments to use, but I will not quit this house till you promise to follow my advice." To this he most obligingly replied, "I promise you I will merely because you insist upon it, though I am still unconvinced, and without hopes of doing any thing." This accidental interview of mine with Townshend prevented all the impending mischief. He mollified Viner, Northey, Sir Charles Mordaunt, and the other country gentlemen; the next morning, he saw Pitt, and was one of the members who introduced him to the house: his long fit of the gout, and his two relapses, had prevented his taking his seat there ever since it was vacated by his acceptance of the seals. Mr. Pitt's motion passed *nem. con.* and old Viner himself made him a compliment on the occasion. It must be said, there never was a cheaper Hanoverian bargain, and the most palatable too, as it included the interest, at least the name, of the idolized King of Prussia; but that merit, so endearing to Mr. Viner and his friends, served but to weaken

weaken Mr. Pitt still more with the court, and its prostitute instruments, the two houses of parliament.* The King was convinced by long experience that any other minister would have sacrificed much more to the safety of Hanover. The court members had constantly been lavish of their sneers on Mr. Pitt's connection with Tories and Jacobites. Mr. Fox, more ably, on the 18th of February, the day of Pitt's motion, reminded him of some passages in the last sessions, referring to the inconsistency of his language then, and now, on the subject of continental measures. 1757.

Mr. Fox now stepped from behind the curtain, where he had been acting a considerable part, supported by the Duke of Cumberland, secretly encouraged by the King, and animated by the apparent decline of Mr. Pitt's popularity. That remarkable instance of popular instability, resulting from the fate of Admiral Byng, renders the story of his trial and sentence Fox. Ad. Byng.

* "There is no act of arbitrary power which the King might not attribute to *necessity*, and for which he would not be secure of obtaining the approbation of his prostituted Lords and Commons."—*Junius*, Vol. ii, p. 362.—EDIT.

1757. necessary in this place. The inquiry itself, so impatiently demanded, was advisedly suspended by Mr. Townshend, waiting the issue of this trial, which was to unravel a conduct so nearly connected with the loss of Minorca.

On the 28th of December, the Court Martial assembled on board the St. George, in the harbour of Portsmouth; the prisoner was tried under the 12th article of war, which runs thus:—"Every person in the fleet, who, through cowardice, negligence, or disaffection, shall in time of action withdraw, or keep back, or not come into the fight or engagement, or shall not do his utmost to engage, take, or destroy every ship, which it shall be his duty to engage, and to assist and relieve all and every one of his Majesty's ships, or those of his allies, which it shall be his duty to assist and relieve; every such person so offending, and being convicted thereof by the sentence of a Court Martial, shall suffer death." Let unprejudiced minds determine, whether the plain sense of this article be not as follows:—

"Every person keeping back in an engagement

gagement through cowardice, negligence, 1757.
or disaffection, or under the circumstances described, not doing his utmost through cowardice, negligence, or disaffection, shall suffer death." Hence it is evident, that no instance of misconduct, not proceeding from those motives, is deemed a capital crime by this article. That the Court Martial understood the article, as comprehending error in judgment among the number of capital offences, is evident beyond all controversy. By their 36th resolution, on the 28th of January, they unanimously declare, that Admiral Byng appears to fall under part of the 12th article, to wit, " Or shall not do his utmost to take, or destroy, &c." Under these words absolutely, without assigning any motive whatever, they adjudged him to die, by their sentence on the 28th. The sentence then proceeds to an acquittal from the charge of cowardice or disaffection, and passing over in silence the third criminal motive, negligence, concludes with an earnest recommendation to mercy.

The sentence is transmitted to the Lords

1757. of the Admiralty, accompanied by a letter unanimously setting forth " the distresses of their minds, which they cannot help laying before their Lordships on the occasion, in finding themselves under the necessity of condemning a man to death, from the great severity of the 12th article of war, which admits of no mitigation, even if the crime should be committed by an error in judgment only; and, therefore, for their own consciences' sake, as well as in *justice* to the prisoner, they pray their Lordships in the most earnest manner to recommend Admiral Bying to his Majesty's clemency." What, but an unfeeling Prince; Counsellors, criminal themselves; and People, blind with womanish rage, could impute to Earl Temple, as a most unpardonable offence, his hesitation to concur with a sentence like this, from Judges, who unanimously declare the person condemned to be undeserving of his fate, illiterate, inconsistent, unapprehending judges, demonstrably such on the evidence of their own words and decision!

Earl Temple lost not a moment in laying this

this strange sentence and epistle before the King, who ordered the warrant for his immediate execution; and for his inflexibility was called an heroic Prince, by subjects who had ever despised him before. Every Commissioner of the Admiralty then in town, Temple, Forbes, Hunter, and the two civilians Hay and Elliot, demurred, in effect, refused to sign the warrant till the opinion of the twelve Judges could be obtained on the legality of the sentence. Their opinion was obtained, and the sentence declared legal by them all. 1757.

These transactions were no sooner known, than the First Commissioner began to share with the criminal himself in the public indignation and fury. Temple assured me in the most solemn manner, that the guilt or innocence of Byng made no part of his own consideration; but, that the putting any man to death under such a sentence, accompanied by such a letter, without the least revision, was a manifest violation of justice, in which he would not tamely concur, whatever the consequence might prove to himself. In this he was sup-

1757. ported by the opinions of the Attorney and Solicitor General, by the Earls of Westmoreland and Lord Stanhope, the most unspotted of all the nobility; by Sir Francis Dashwood and Mr. Waller, adherents to the new Administration on principle; by the most considerable of its adversaries likewise, Lord Egmont, Sir George Lee, Sir John Cust, and Mr. Dodington, who all went so far, on a perusal of the trial, as to pronounce the person condemned innocent of any capital crime. At length Sir Francis Dashwood, and Sir John Cust, one a friend, and one an enemy to the Ministry, mentioned their difficulties in Parliament; on this occasion Mr. Pitt, for the first time, delivered his sentiments, without his accustomed warmth, but in terms of moderation, declaring his desire, that mere justice might be done, which he thought would suffer, if so inconsistent and preposterous a sentence should take place without any further examination. This modest use of a privilege common to all, thinking for himself, and thus producing his thoughts, at once threw down

down the image of public adoration, polluted and defaced by the despicable hands which had raised it: Pitt became hateful to the people of Great Britain, like Anson, like Fox, or Byng.* 1757.

The late contrition of some of Byng's judges, Mr. Keppel in particular, his signifying in Parliament a desire to be absolved from his oath of secrecy, a Bill passed by the Commons for that purpose, and rejected by the Lords, predetermined to wash away, if possible, the stains of the old Administration by the blood of an insignificant victim, together with the absurd and inconsistent behaviour of Keppel himself, and others of the Court Martial at the bar of the Lords, are incidents which scarcely deserve the slight mention already made. The whole concluded in the criminal's execution. His trial is in

* The situation of parties respecting Admiral Byng is thus described by Lord Chesterfield.

"Byng is reprieved for a fortnight; what will become of him at last God knows: for the late Admiralty want to shoot him, to excuse themselves; and the present Admiralty want to save him, in order to lay the blame upon their predecessors."—EDIT.

print.

1757. print. Whether it furnishes evidence to prove the cowardice of which he stands acquitted in his sentence, or the negligence for which he is condemned by implication, or whether his not having done his utmost, simply and independently of any criminal motive assigned, be a capital offence existing in the law, or merely in the empty heads of his judges, are points which I leave to the decision of unprejudiced posterity.

On the 14th of March Byng was shot, memorable only in his fall; innocent or guilty, equally the occasion of dishonour to his countrymen; whether we consider their intemperate rage, artificially fomented by the more guilty against him, unheard and untried, or their more unmanly and petulant levity towards Pitt, for an act of moderation untinctured with selfishness, and wearing the aspect at least of justice and humanity. It is to shew so strong an instance of a fickle and worthless people, that I have dwelt so long on this subject.

Mr. Pitt was deemed impolitic by many, who, ignorant of the intrigues at Court, imputed

imputed his speedy dismission from em- 1757.
ployment, in a great measure, to his conduct on this occasion, which, disgusting his friends, the people, had encouraged the King and the Cabinet cabal to deprive him of his high office. On the contrary, his nearest friends for two months before, seeing the impracticability of any undertaking for the public, wished him and his party out of the Administration, and were quickly satisfied, that their wish was every day growing nearer its accomplishment, from the King's own disposition, and the perseverance of the Duke of Cumberland, to form a ministry of his own. A decisive opportunity presented itself to the Duke: being ordered by the King to embark for Germany, and command the Army of Observation there, he made a difficulty of complying, unless he left behind him an Administration well inclined to his person and measures: his father most readily consented, and by the 5th of April, the day that Mr. Pitt, by the King's command, resigned the seals, (the Duke departed for Harwich the 9th,) this

new

1757. new and once popular ministry was no more.

The instant Mr. Pitt was removed, he became more popular than before. The freedom of London was presented to him and Mr. Legge, a compliment seconded by most of the great corporations in England; the crime of screening Byng was at once buried in oblivion; invective was changed into applause; even the exploded Duke of Newcastle was invited by the public to unite with Pitt, and compel the King, perplexed and confounded at this reflux of Pitt's popularity, to replace him in the full possession of power.

Truly deserving of censure from a well-advised and impartial nation, was the cold countenance Pitt had given to the Militia, and his inactivity and negligence in prosecuting the inquiry. Should it be asked, why the spirit and activity of Mr. Townshend delayed to open that interesting transaction till the 25th of April, full six weeks after the determination of Byng's destiny, I can from my own knowledge reply, that Mr. Townshend's original resolution

solution was, to leave the time, method, and direction, to Mr. Pitt; and purposing himself to act a subordinate part, was content to see the glory engrossed by one man, on whom the success confessedly depended, provided justice could be obtained for his country. Mr. Townshend's anxiety at this suspense, and the universal propensity, in this important crisis, to a coalition with the Duke of Newcastle, induced me to wait upon Mr. Pitt himself, without reserve or partiality, to deliver my sentiments on the public situation and his own, and expecting a return of candour, in consequence of his many intimations conveyed through Lord Temple and others, of an earnest desire to see me, I made him two visits within a few days after his resignation. Our conversation and demeanour were suitable to the intimacy and friendship which had commenced with our youth, and subsisted for no inconsiderable part of our lives. 1757.

The neglect and indifference on my side for the last twelve years, seemed to have made no impression upon him, and the remem-

1757. remembrance of his frailties, which had created my former disgust, was lost in the expectation, which all men conceived from his altered principles and conduct. The substance of our conferences may be reduced to the following heads:

He frankly disclosed, under my promise of secrecy, the most material occurrences between him and the King, who most apparently had never reposed the least confidence in him; yet awed by his spirit and popular name, had treated him with a civil, though inflexible reserve. He asked me in what manner I would advise him to word his answer to the City of London, upon the compliment they intended to make him of his freedom.* I advised him to be very general in his expressions, and to retain in his private thoughts as little regard to their present approbation, as he had done to their censure in the case of Byng; to form, as an honest man, the best opinions he was able, and ever keep in remembrance, that

* See Mr. Pitt's answer at the end,

Justum

Justum et tenacem propositi virum 1757.
Non civium ardor prava jubentium,
Non vultus instantis tyranni,
Mente quatit solidâ,

That his greatest trial was immediate; all orders and conditions of men were now united in one cry for a coalition between him and the Duke of Newcastle, whose instability, treachery, timidity, and servile devotion to the King, were indisputably known; and to whom, interposed Mr. Pitt, all our public misfortunes are more imputable than to any other man. But what must be done? we are now in the most desperate and flagitious hands, capable of any violence. The Duke of Cumberland would not hesitate to silence the complaints of an aggrieved people by a regiment of the Guards, a measure which Fox would as little scruple to advise; I grant them, said I, to be the heads of a Catilinarian band; but will your union with Newcastle prevent the mischief? Do not imagine, replied he, that I can be induced to unite with him, unless sure of power; I mean power over public measures:

1757. sures: the disposition of offices, except the few efficient ones of Administration, the creating Deans, Bishops, and every placeman besides, is quite out of my plan, and which I willingly would relinquish to the Duke of Newcastle. Give me leave, said I, to suppose you united in Administration with him; then let us consider the part which he (admitting him to be sincere) will have to act. You have no command in either House of Parliament, and have experienced the personal dislike of the King. You must depend altogether on the Duke of Newcastle for a majority in Parliament, and on his fighting your battles in the closet; and, to speak plainly, using his efforts to alienate a father from a favoured son, who is your declared enemy.

Supposing Newcastle sincere, is his composition stern enough for such encounters? But, knowing him false, selfish, and insatiable of power, will he not rather make his own way, and re-establish himself in the King's favour by every servile gratification of his will? Then shall I be

grieved

grieved to see you, the first man in Great Britain, at this juncture, become a subaltern to the lowest. Sir, you are governed by a noble principle, the love of fame; do not hazard that glorious acquisition on such precarious ground. As you are the only object in the nation's eye, every wrong measure, every miscarriage will be imputed to you. You may say you can but quit your situation again: true; but are you sure of returning to the same situation of character and importance which you now possess? Necessity brought you in, the last time; you soon found there was no raising an edifice without materials: the materials cannot exist, till calamity has utterly changed the temper, manners, and principles of the whole nation. Calamity, perhaps, is not very distant from us: when you can command your materials, and necessity puts the power in your hands, then resume your task. To conclude, I mean, that with such a coadjutor as Newcastle, and with such a House of Commons, it is impossible for an honest man to serve this country: and I am satisfied, that your 1757.

1757. magnanimity, experience, and discernment, must see this coalition in a worse light than I am capable of representing it. After all, Sir, if you must yield to the pressure of all your friends, and the whole public, soliciting and clamouring for this measure, remember, I compare you to Curtius, whose courage I should have admired when he leapt into the gulph; though, as his friend, I never would have counselled him to take that leap. I then took occasion to pass some compliments upon him, which, together with my preceding discourse, drew this answer:

I am quite happy in the good opinion you entertain of your old acquaintance. Let me assure you that I have drawn a line, which I will not pass: so far, perhaps, I may be driven, but beyond it—never. I then wound up the conversation with reminding him of the inquiry and the militia: the first, then pending in the House of Commons, I took for granted he would prosecute with vigour; and just hinted, that at all events it was highly material for him not to omit so fair an opportunity of evincing

evincing to mankind the utter incapacity of his predecessors in Administration. He seemed struck with the thought, and gave me assurances that he would take his part in that inquiry; but at the same time, I perceived, he did not mean to go any great lengths; that is, would content himself with shewing the incapacity, &c. without insisting too earnestly on either punishment or censure. 1757.

The militia was at this time in the House of Lords. The training day, a most essential part, Mr. Pitt had consented to alter from Sunday to Monday; but the number still stood for 67,000 men, which it was apprehended the Lords would reduce to 30,000. Upon this subject I spoke as follows: If a coalition must take place, the Duke of Newcastle has it now in his power to give a proof of his sincerity. Let him pass the Militia Bill in its present shape, I would then consent to treat with him. Leaving this to his consideration, I rose to depart. He followed and took me by the hand, and in the most solemn phrase repeated his former assurances. To this

1757. declaration of prescribing certain limits to his conduct, I gave two interpretations; one in a loose and general sense, that he would not embark in any foreign measures to the prejudice of this country; the other, in a particular sense, that in all events he would ever withhold his consent from the sending of British troops to Germany.

This interview was on the 9th of April, 1757, the 25th was the day fixed for opening the inquiry. During the interval Mr. Pitt was indisposed, and desired Mr. Townshend to procure a previous meeting at his house of the principal members, to settle the several resolutions that should be moved in Parliament.

It was not till the 23d, on the Saturday night preceding the Monday morning, the day appointed for this long expected and important affair, that Mr. Townshend could obtain the meeting. As an instance of their tardy and lukewarm proceeding, he shewed me a letter from a principal gentleman of the number, where he excused himself from attending, on account of a prior and indispensable engagement. Mr. Townshend,

Townshend, highly provoked, sent him so spirited an answer, as obliged him to break his engagement, and appear. I was the only man out of Parliament who was admitted, and made a malicious discovery, that this great man's engagement amounted to no more than a promise of waiting on some ladies to the Play. Sixteen members of Parliament were present. Mr. George Grenville seemed to have taken some pains. The evidence had been already digested and methodized by Mr. Townshend. The design of the meeting was to draw up the necessary resolutions, which for want of time, and through the apparent indifference of most present, were very imperfect. I prevailed on them to reassemble on the Sunday evening, when, at two in the morning, the most material resolution of any, after a tedious and indecisive debate, was left for me to prepare; which, through mere lassitude and waste of spirits, I was incapable of performing: consequently no resolution on that head was provided at all. It related to an invasion, which might have been proved, from undoubted 1757.

1757. intelligence then before the House, to have been founded on the most trifling and absurd reports; and, that the most rational and best-grounded part of the Government's advices asserted the contrary.

The ministerial side took advantage of our neglect, as appears by the first resolution of the committee on the 3d of May, on which day the whole was brought to a conclusion.

First, "It appears to this committee, that his Majesty, from the 27th of August, 1755, to the 20th of April, 1756, received such repeated and concurrent intelligence as gave just reason to believe, that the French King intended to invade his Majesty's dominions of Great Britain or Ireland."

Another resolution was as follows:— "That on the 1st of April, 1756, there were twenty-seven of his Majesty's ships of the line cruizing on the following services, that is to say, fourteen ships of the line cruizing between Brest and Rochefort, under the command of Sir Edward Hawke; five more of the line, ordered under the command

command of Admiral Holbourne, to join Sir Edward Hawke; one between Cape Clear and Scilly, one between Scilly and Ushant, two off the Isle of Bass, one off Cape Barfleur, two in the Downs under the command of Admiral Smith, and one at Cork; and twenty-eight ships of the line in commission at home, that is to say, seventeen fitted for sea; ten fitting, and one in harbour service; all which were exclusive of the squadron under the command of Admiral Byng, then under orders to sail for the Mediterranean; and that the complement of the said twenty-eight ships of the line at home, amounted to 14,640 men; and that there were borne on the said ships-books 9891 men, and 7249 mustered." 1757.

The next resolution shews, that at the same time there were forty-five frigates, sloops, and armed vessels, nearly in the same stations as above; and seventeen more fitted or fitting at home, which did not want more than two-fifths of their complement. It must be observed, that admitting the design of an invasion, a few

1757. more ships might have been spared for the Mediterranean.

The number and force of the French fleet, their design upon Minorca, and the timely intelligence thereof, were facts ascertained by other resolutions; and likewise, that the garrison in Fort St. Philip amounted to no more than 2860, officers included; that thirty-five military officers were absent from their duty, including the Governor and Commander in Chief of the Island, the Governor of Fort St. Philip, and the Colonels of the four regiments there: the committee, notwithstanding all which is related above, concluded with the following resolution:

"That the squadron of his Majesty's ships in the Mediterranean, in the month of December, 1755, consisted of one ship of sixty guns, two of fifty guns, four frigates, and one sloop; and that the garrison of Fort St. Philip, in the said month of December, according to the last returns, made the 31st July, 1755, consisted of 2860, (officers included;) and that it doth appear, that no greater number of ships

ships of war could be sent to the Mediterranean, than were sent on the 6th of April, 1756, nor any greater reinforcement than the regiment which was sent, and the detachment equal to a battalion, which was ordered (viz. from Gibraltar) to the relief of Fort St. Philip, consistently with the state of the navy, and the various services essential to the safety of his Majesty's dominions, and the interest of his subjects." 1757.

During these several long debates on this subject, Mr. Pitt spoke with vehemence, and directed his invective against Lord Anson, the late First Commissione of the Admiralty. Colonel Townshend acquitted himself with great temper, coolness, and ability; and my worthy friend, Mr. Samuel Martin, late Secretary to the Treasury, was distinguished above all for the best digested speech delivered on the occasion; and with a degree of integrity which no one could equal but Townshend himself.

In two or three days after the 3d of May, the period of the inquiry, I had the honour of a second interview with Mr. Pitt.

1757. Pitt. Our conversation principally turned on the same topics as before, a coalition with the Duke of Newcastle. I repeated and enforced all my arguments against it He heard me with attention, shewed much regard, and some acquiescence, seemingly so at least, possibly, at the instant, real and sincere. At length he assured me, that no consideration should induce him to close with the measure, unless the Duke of Newcastle would pledge himself, and his whole party, in the hands of the Prince of Wales. Hence it was evident, that Leicester-house was an additional pressure on Mr. Pitt.

Between this time and the 19th of May, a negociation was carried on, frequently broke off, frequently renewed. I had observed, in my last visit to Mr. Pitt, that he spoke of Mr. Legge with some indifference, and took notice with a tone and aspect of censure, that he had been silent during all the debates on the inquiry: Legge, to my knowledge on that subject, had been very cool and inattentive; and one morning in particular, at Lord Temple's

ple's house, he expressed a wish that the inquiry might not be prosecuted, alleging, that while it remained unexplored, the odium would be more permanent on the authors of our disgraces at Minorca, than, if they should be exculpated in the resolutions of the committee, of which he made no doubt, and perhaps stand approved, either through the want of evidence, or by parliamentary partiality. I will not affirm, whether this reasoning was or was not the result of an opinion unbiassed and disinterested; he was certainly justified in some measure by the event. 1757.

I remember I answered him, that having perused the evidence with some care, I could venture to assert, that negligence, ignorance, and incapacity, could be made apparent; that an inquiry had been solemnly promised to the public, was expected, and could not be dispensed with; to this he readily acquiesced, and declared his satisfaction on my report of the evidence. This passed about ten days before the meetings at Townshend's house, where it was notorious, that Legge took no part, either

1757. either through indolence, despair of success, or the apprehension of rendering a coalition more difficult. The last probably was no small motive to this behaviour; a suspicion appearing but too well grounded from the following anecdote, known to few besides myself, and fully explanatory of Mr. Pitt's indifference and haughtiness towards Legge. It is certain that the latter, without the other's privity, went singly to the Duke of Newcastle, while the negociation for a coalition was pending with Pitt, who, for a considerable time, had treated the Duke with the utmost stiffness and reserve; a conduct extremely necessary, and which was not a little disconcerted by Legge's forwardness to negociate by himself. I was first apprised of this incident by Lord Temple; but as Mr. Legge afterwards very candidly related the whole to me himself, I shall defer giving any conclusive judgment, till the order of time shall introduce his own narration in its due place.

The public were perpetually amused with reports about this coalition; one day it

was

was said to be concluded, another day to be more distant than ever. In the mean time no Administration was formed. Fox, indeed, had the dexterity to procure for the lives of himself and his two sons, the reversion of Dodington's office of the Pells in Ireland, a sinecure worth upwards of 2000*l.* a year; but did not dare, perhaps cunningly did not choose, to accept immediately of any high office in England. Not one of the vacancies was filled up, except in the Admiralty; a department whose operations in time of war cannot be suspended. 1757.

Lord Temple, who had received to his care a sickly and shattered navy from Lord Anson, left it in a promising condition when he was dismissed from his post;* a situation he had accepted with reluctance; and after the exertion of unimpeached fidelity, diligence, and honour, most cheerfully relinquished it to a temporary successor, the Earl of Winchelsea. Ld. Temple.

No successors were appointed to Mr.

* Lord Temple was appointed to the Admiralty April 6, 1757, and resigned in the following June.—EDIT.

Pitt,

1757. Pitt, Mr. Legge, and Mr. Grenville; and the Duke of Devonshire, the head of the Treasury, had declared his intention to resign, as soon as all the money should be provided for his Majesty's service. The 19th of May was to finish that work, as a demand of a vote of credit for a million was then laid before the House. Mr. Pitt on this motion declared, that, while he was in his Majesty's service, he was given to understand, that no farther sum would be required for the service of the Continent, than the 200,000*l.* granted for that purpose in February last, and proposed an amendment to the present motion. The amendment limited the application of the vote of credit to British services only, excepting a small portion, which he agreed might be given to the Hessian troops under the head of forage, in consideration of the scarcity and unexpected rise in the price of that article. He laid down an absolute position, that Great Britain should be no otherwise concerned upon the Continent, than in keeping the war alive there in a defensive manner; that her offensive

efforts

efforts should be confined to the sea and North America: this was opposed by Lord Egmont and Sir George Lee, both declaring without reserve, that this nation ought to engage on the Continent in operations of the utmost extent; and that all others had been proved by recent experience to be uncertain and ineffectual. However, there was no division on the question, which was carried in its original words. 1757.

After the House was up I joined several of Pitt's friends; and having been informed, that all treaty with the Duke of Newcastle had been broken off two or three days before, I gave them my congratulations on the event, and received this reply from Mr. George Grenville. "Have you not observed from what passed to-day, what rotten ground we must have stood upon? You see, that no coalition could take place without our plunging into every Hanoverian measure." This was on the 19th of May; yet, the negociation between Pitt and Newcastle was revived between that day and the 27th, and vanished again on Pitt's insisting to create George Grenville

1757. Grenville Chancellor of the Exchequer in preference to Legge.

On the 27th I dined at Sir Francis Dashwood's with Legge: the two Townshends, Samuel Martin, and others; that day s'ennight we were all entertained by Mr. Legge; and then it was universally understood, that every hope of a coalition was utterly annihilated, to the visible mortification of most in company. The part I took was to wish them all joy; which I did most cordially: at the same time, in the presence of Legge and Martin, after the meeting broke up, I freely declared to Grenville my entire disapprobation of Pitt's conduct; first, in negociating at all; lastly, in resting the coalition on a mere personal point. This circumstance was artfully turned to Mr. Pitt's disadvantage, by the Duke of Newcastle, ever dexterous at these interested transactions, and no others. By his solemn protestations, that no difference had arisen between him and Pitt on the subject of public measures, but merely on the nomination of a Chancellor of the Exchequer, he misled Colonel Town-

Townshend and all the country gentlemen into a disapprobation, if not a dislike, of Mr. Pitt. I plainly perceived in many of them, that this disgust proceeded from some disappointment in the hopes they had conceived of obtaining employments by means of a coalition. Another incident, hinted at already, Mr. Legge's stolen interview with the Duke, gave that old and cunning courtier another advantage, of which he made an effectual use with those who were ready to embrace any pretence of coming again into office. In fine, the coalition took place, and Lord Hardwicke at that juncture appeared once more a principal character on the political stage. 1757.

It was on the 27th or 28th of June, that I waited on my friend Mr. Samuel Martin. Mr. Legge came into the room, and with the aspect of a man sinking under self-condemnation and despair, burst into the following exclamation—"Well, I must go into office again; I have accepted the Chancellorship of the Exchequer under that false and perfidious Duke of Newcas-

1757. tle." Upon this he drew out a paper, where he had committed to writing all which had passed at that ill-judged interview between himself and the Duke.

It appeared to me that the principal error consisted in his having taken that step without the privity of any one friend. He had not made any concession to the detriment of his country, or his party; his declaration against Fox was contained in the following allusion: "The scum is now risen to the top of the pot; if your Grace will lend us your skimmer we will take it all off." This meeting was held under the most sacred promise of mutual secrecy. After it was over, and when it was too late for advice, he communicated the transaction to his friend Martin, who immediately blamed his indiscretion, and so counselled him to lose not a moment in representing the truth to Mr. Pitt, as the only reparation which was left in his power to make. Legge assented at once, then starting up, recollected that he had pledged his honour to the Duke not to divulge a tittle; and

half

half out of his senses ran from Martin's chamber. 1757.

The Duke was not so punctilious. Within an hour after Legge had quitted him, he put all his treacherous arts in practice, by imparting the whole to his instrument Stone, the busy, intriguing Primate of Ireland, who authorized, nay, enjoined by the Duke, took the first opportunity of informing Pitt.

Not many days following, I had an intimation of it from Lord Temple, who closed his discourse by saying, " there is a difference between a wholesale grocer and a retail one;" alluding to the Grocer's Company, of which Pitt and Legge had lately been made members. Mr. Legge by this proceeding undoubtedly furnished just cause of suspicion, that he meant to undermine or get the start of Pitt. I rather impute the whole to mere eagerness, which is generally productive of imprudence and rashness; and I am the more inclined to this, the most favourable construction, from the affecting relation, which Martin, the sincerest of mankind and

1757. strictest observer of truth, gave me of Legge's misery at this irretrievable act of absurdity. For many mornings successively he would come into Martin's bedchamber before he was up, and roll upon the floor like a man tortured with bodily pain, and vent expressions of compunction little short of phrensy. During my visit at Martin's, I had observed such real distress in Mr. Legge's countenance and behaviour, that I not only then administered to him every argument of consolation, but wrote the next day a letter to Martin, in which, taking notice of Mr. Legge's intended departure from town, I expressed the utmost concern at the distracted temper of mind which that gentleman would carry with him into the country. Mr. Martin's answer is so explanatory of all which I have already related, that I think it material to insert it here, and to shew at the same time the good sense and sincerity of the writer.

"Dear Glover,

"It is very true, that the gentleman

man you mention did go out of town much dissatisfied and uneasy at the part which he thought himself bound to take; but this part was the acceptance, not the refusal of office. The indiscretion he had committed in having a secret interview with the Duke of Newcastle, (although the subject matter was perfectly pure and blameless,) had given his friends a handle to impute to him the high terms which the Duke demanded for himself; and the gentleman suspected in his own mind, that the step he had made might have conduced in some degree to inspire his Grace with that confidence. From hence he looked upon it to be a point of honour due to his friends, not to disorder their system by withdrawing himself from it; which otherwise he had certainly done for several reasons, some of a private and personal nature. I think the time is not far off, when he and some others of my friends will set themselves right in the world's regard. I suppose, the state of things is well known to you by this time; and therefore I need not trouble you or myself with an history 1757.

1757. of particulars. I am, dear Glover, whatever may be the fate of this or that political man, faithfully and sincerely your's,

"SAMUEL MARTIN."

Mr. Pitt, at this juncture, appears to have stood almost single, deserted by the country gentlemen, declining in popularity, and disunited with Legge; his only foundation was Leicester-house, and his principal hope of a coalition at last rested on the Duke of Newcastle's horror of Fox. In the midst of their mutual perplexity, Lord Hardwicke interposes with his specious and artful assistance; by the 29th of June a new Administration is formed: the seals are redelivered to Pitt without any reality of power; Newcastle becomes head of the Treasury, reserving to himself the disposal of all offices; Legge, Chancellor of the Exchequer, without the least weight or influence at the board; Hardwicke replaces his unpopular and obnoxious son-in-law, Lord Anson, in the Admiralty; and Fox, whose prudent refusal of any powerful office in the ministry, not a little contributed

contributed to this final settlement, had interest enough with the King to obtain the paymastership of the army, a lucrative employment, accountable in its own department singly, and in no phrase involved with the general Administration. Temple is created Lord Privy Seal, his brother George remains Treasurer of the Navy; Charles Townshend, affecting the highest discontent, continues Treasurer of the Chambers: Sir Robert Henley is made Lord Keeper; Mr. Pratt, Attorney General; Lord Hardwicke's third son, Mr. York, Solicitor; and himself, though out of employment, possesses the confidence of the King, and is equally courted by Newcastle and Pitt: the scene closes with the retreat of Colonel Townshend and the country gentlemen from London, all disgusted, some from generous, most from interested motives. 1757.

I close this subject with one remark. The Duke of Newcastle was a man of whom no one ever spoke with cordial regard, of parts and conduct which generally drew animadversions bordering on contempt, of D. of Newcastle.

1757. notorious insincerity, political cowardice, and servility to the highest and the lowest; yet, insincere without gall, ambitious without pride, luxurious, jovial, hospitable to all men, of an exorbitant estate, affable, forgetful of offences, and profuse of his favours indiscriminately to all his adherents; he had established a faction by far the most powerful in this country: hence he derived that influence which encouraged his unworthy pretensions to ministerial power; nor was he less indebted to his experience of a Court, a long practice in all its craft, whence he had acquired a certain art of imposition, that in every negociation with the most distinguished popular leaders, however superior to himself in understanding, from the instant they began to depart from ingenuous and public principles, he never missed his advantage, nor failed of making them his property at last, and himself their master. Lord Cobham, Chesterfield, the Duke of Bedford, Pitt, and others, found him so in 1743, when he took them into his confederacy to rout the Earl of Bath and

and Granville. Pitt found him so in 1757, when this new coalition was formed to destroy the Duke of Cumberland and Fox. 1757.

The

The Answer of The Right Hon. WILLIAM PITT *to the* LORD MAYOR *and* CITY OF LONDON, *on receiving the Freedom of the City, on the 15th of April*, 1757. *Addressed to Sir* THOMAS HARRISON, *Chamberlain.*

[Referred to in page 126.]

" Give me leave, Sir, to request the favour of you, to present, in the most expressive terms, to the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Council of the City of London, the high sense I have of the distinguished honour they have been pleased to do me, in conferring on me the freedom of the City.

" I have ever been zealously devoted to the support of the liberty, trade, and prosperity of that great and respectable body; and I am now proud, and happy to have such cause to add the sentiments of truest gratitude for so generous a mark of their favour; and for so unmerited an approbation of my insufficient endeavours to carry into effect the most gracious intentions, and paternal care of his Majesty, for the preservation and happiness of his people."

AN EXPLANATORY INDEX

OF THE

PRINCIPAL NAMES MENTIONED IN THE MEMOIR.

GEORGE II, born October 30, 1683, succeeded to the throne June 11, 1727; died October 25, 1760, aged 77.

Frederic Lewis, Prince of Wales, born January 20, 1707; married April 27, 1736; died March 20, 1751.

Duke of Cumberland, born April 15, 1721; died October 31, 1765.

Frederic III. King of Prussia, born Jan. 24, 1712; succeeded to the crown May 20, 1740; died August 17, 1786.

Maria Theresa, Queen of Hungary and Bohemia, born May 3, 1717; succeeded to the throne Oct. 20, 1740; died Nov. 29, 1780, in the 64th year of her age.

Page

1 Sir Robert Walpole, born Aug. 26, 1676; first sate in Parliament in 1700; created Earl of Orford Feb. 9, 1742; died March 10, 1745.

" In private life, Sir Robert Walpole was good-natured, cheerful, social; inelegant in his manners, loose in his morals. He had a coarse, strong wit, of which he was too free for a man in his station. He was very able as a minister, but without a certain elevation of mind necessary for great good or great

great mischief. Profuse and appetent, his ambition was subservient to his desire of making a great fortune. He had more of the Mazarine than of the Richelieu. He would do mean things for profit, and never thought of doing great ones for glory. He was both the best parliament-man and the ablest manager of Parliament, that I believe ever lived. He was an artful rather than an eloquent speaker, but he had a most extraordinary talent of persuading and working men up to his purpose. He was excessively open to flattery, even of the grossest kind. He was loved by many, but respected by none; his familiar and illiberal mirth and raillery leaving him no dignity. He was not vindictive, but on the contrary very placable to those who had injured him the most."—*Chesterfield*.

2 William Pulteney, created Earl of Bath in July, 1742; died July 8, 1764, aged 82.

"Lord Bath has left above twelve hundred thousand pounds in land and money.—The legacies he has left are trifling; for, in truth, he cared for nobody. The public, which was long the dupe of his simulation and dissimulation, begins to explain upon him; and draws such a picture of him as I gave you long ago."

"He had a quick and clear conception of business, could equally detect and practise sophistry. He could state and explain the most intricate matters, even in figures, with the utmost perspicuity. His parts were rather above business; and the warmth of his imagination, joined to the impetuosity and restlessness of his temper made him incapable of conducting it long together with prudence and steadiness. He was a most complete orator and debater in the House of Commons. His breast was the seat of all those passions which degrade our nature, and disturb our reason. There they raged in perpetual conflict, but *avarice*, the meanest of them all, generally triumphed, and ruled absolutely, and in many instances, which I forbear to mention, most scandalously. He was an able actor of truth and sincerity, but he could occasionally lay

lay them aside to serve the purposes of his ambition or avarice."—*Chesterfield.*

3 Lord Carteret, born April 22, 1690, succeeded to his father's barony 1695, became Earl of Granville on the death of his mother in 1744; died Jan. 2, 1763.

" Lord Granville had great parts, and a most uncommon share of learning for a man of quality. He was one of the best speakers in the House of Lords, both in the declamatory and argumentative way. He had a wonderful quickness and precision in seizing the stress of a question, which no art, no sophistry, could disguise in him. In business he was bold, enterprising and overbearing. He had been bred up in high monarchical, that is, tyrannical principles of government, which his ardent and imperious temper made him think were the only rational and practicable ones. He would have been a great first minister in France, little inferior, perhaps, to Richelieu; in this government, which is yet free, he would have been a dangerous one, little less so, perhaps, than Lord Strafford. He was neither ill-natured nor vindictive and had a great contempt for money. His ideas were all above it. In social life he was an agreeable, good-humoured, and instructive companion; a great but entertaining talker."—*Chesterfield.*

3 Lord Hardwicke, the Chancellor, born Dec. 1, 1690; created a Peer Nov. 23, 1733; made Chancellor Feb. 21, 1736-7; died March 6, 1764.

" Lord Hardwicke was, perhaps, the greatest magistrate that this country ever had. He presided in the Court of Chancery above twenty years, and in all that time none of his decrees were reversed, nor the justness of them ever questioned. Though avarice was his ruling passion, he was never in the least suspected of any kind of corruption: a rare and meritorious instance of virtue and self-denial, under the influence of such a craving, insatiable, and increasing passion.

" He

" He had great and clear parts; understood, loved, and cultivated the *belles lettres*. He was an agreeable, eloquent speaker in parliament, but not without some little tincture of the pleader.

" Men are apt to mistake, or at least to seem to mistake, their own talents, in hopes, perhaps, of misleading others to allow them that which they are conscious they do not possess. Thus Lord Hardwicke valued himself more upon being a great minister of state, which he certainly was not, than upon being a great magistrate, which he certainly was.

" All his notions were clear, but none of them great. Good order and domestic details were his proper department. The great and shining parts of government, though not above his parts to conceive, were above his timidity to undertake."—*Chesterfield.*

3 Thomas Holles, Duke of Newcastle, born Aug. 1, 1693; created Duke of Newcastle Aug. 2, 1715; died Nov. 17, 1768.

" The Duke of Newcastle had been a minister for above forty years together, and in the last ten years of that time first minister.

" The public opinion put him below his level: for though he had no superior parts, or eminent talents, he had a most indefatigable industry, a perseverance, a court craft, and a servile compliance with the will of his sovereign for the time being; which qualities, with only a common share of common sense, will carry a man sooner and more safely through the dark labyrinths of a court, than the most shining parts would do without those meaner talents.

" He was good-natured to a degree of weakness, even to tears upon the slightest occasions. Exceedingly timorous, both personally and politically, dreading the least innovation, and keeping, with a scrupulous timidity, in the beaten track of business as having the safest bottom."—*Chesterfield.*

3 Henry

3 Henry Pelham, born 1696; first sate in Parliament 1718; died March 6, 1754: Brother to the Duke of Newcastle.

"Mr. Pelham had good sense, without either shining parts or any degree of literature. He had by no means an elevated or enterprizing genius, but had a more manly and steady resolution than his brother the Duke of Newcastle. He had a gentleman-like frankness in his behaviour, and as great point of honour as a minister can have, especially a minister at the head of the treasury, where numberless sturdy and insatiable beggars of condition apply, who cannot all be gratified, nor all with safety be refused.

"He was a very inelegant speaker in parliament, but spoke with a certain candour and openness that made him be well heard, and generally believed."—*Chesterfield.*

4 Mr. Lyttelton, afterwards Sir George Lyttelton, born 1709; first sate in the House of Commons 1741; created a Peer Nov. 19, 1757; died Aug. 22, 1773.

4 Colonel Lyttelton, afterwards Sir Richard Lyttelton; died Oct. 1, 1770: Brother to George Lord Lyttelton. Uncles to the present Lord Lyttelton.

5 Earl of Wilmington. Sir Spencer Compton, third son of James, the fifth Earl of Northampton, elected Speaker of the House of Commons 1714; created Baron Wilmington 1727, and Earl of Wilmington 1730; died unmarried 1743, and the title became extinct.—*Vide Horace Walpole's Reminiscences, for some account of this Nobleman. Vol. IV. p.* 294.

5 Samuel Sandys, first sate in the House of Commons 1717; created a Peer Dec. 20, 1743; died Dec. 26, 1768.

5 Sir John Rushout, first sate in Parliament in 1710; died Feb. 2, 1775, aged 91: Grandfather to the present Lord Northwick.

6 Daniel,

6 Daniel, seventh Earl of Winchelsea, first sate in the House of Commons 1711; succeeded to his father's titles Jan. 1, 1729—30: appointed First Lord Commissioner of the Admiralty March 16, 1741: died Aug. 2, 1769, in the 81st year of his age. Uncle to the present Earl of Winchelsea.

6 John Duke of Argyle, born 1680; succeeded to his father's titles Sept. 28, 1703; died Oct. 3, 1743.

"The Duke of Argyle, though the weakest reasoner, was the most pleasing speaker I ever knew in my life. He charmed, he warmed, he forcibly ravished the audience; not by his matter certainly, but by his manner of delivering it. A most genteel figure, a graceful noble air, an harmonious voice, an elegant style, and a strength of emphasis, conspired to make him the most affecting, persuasive, and applauded speaker I ever saw. I was captivated like others; but when I came home and coolly considered what he had said, stripped of all those ornaments in which he had dressed it, I often found the matter flimsy, the arguments weak, and I was convinced of the power of those adventitious concurring circumstances, which ignorance of mankind only calls trifling ones."

Chesterfield, Letter 205, Dec. 5, 1749.

This account of the Duke of Argyle, by Lord Chesterfield, is inserted to compare it with Glover's opinion of the same person, p. 10 in this Memoir.

7 John Duke of Bedford, born Oct. 20, 1710; succeeded to the Dukedom Oct. 23, 1732; died Jan. 14, 1771: Grandfather to the present Duke.

"The Duke of Bedford was more considerable for his rank and immense fortune, than for either his parts or his virtues.

"He had rather more than a common share of common-sense, but with a head so wrong-turned, and so invincibly obstinate, that the share of parts which he had was of little use to him, and very troublesome to others.

"He was passionate, though obstinate; and, though both,

was

was always governed by some low dependants, who had art enough to make him believe that he governed them.

" His manners and address were exceedingly illiberal; he had neither the talent nor the desire of pleasing.

" In speaking in the House, he had an inelegant flow of words, but not without some reasoning, matter, and method.

" He had no amiable qualities; but he had no vicious nor criminal ones: he was much below shining, but above contempt in any character.

" In short, he was a duke of a respectable family, and with a very great estate."—*Chesterfield.*

7 George Compton, first sate in the House of Commons 1722; appointed one of the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury Feb. 2, 1742; succeeded to the Earldom of Northampton on his brother's death Oct. 3, 1754; died Dec. 6, 1758, in the 66th year of his age. Great uncle to the present Lord Northampton.

7 Lord Carlisle died Sept. 2, 1758, aged 63: Father to the present Lord Carlisle.

7 Lord Chesterfield, born Sept. 22, 1694; first sate in the House of Commons in 1714; succeeded to his father's titles Jan 27, 1725-6; died March 24, 1773.

7 Lord Cobham. Sir Richard Temple was created Baron Cobham Oct. 19, 1714: died Sept. 13, 1749.

84 Earl Temple, born Sept. 26, 1711; first sate in the House of Commons 1734; succeeded to the Earldom on his mother's death, Oct. 6, 1752; died Sept. 11, 1779: Nephew to Lord Cobham.

21 George Grenville, born Oct. 14, 1712; first sate in Parliament 1741; died Nov. 13, 1770: Brother to Earl Temple.

vii Marquis of Buckingham, born June 18, 1753; became Earl Temple on his uncle's death Sept. 12, 1779;

created Marquis of Buckingham, Nov. 30, 1784; died Feb. 11, 1813: Eldest son of George Grenville.

7 Earl Gower, born August 4, 1721; first sate in the House of Commons 1744; succeeded to his father's titles Dec. 25, 1754; created Marquis of Stafford, Feb. 28, 1786; died Oct. 26, 1803: Father to the present Marquis.

7 Lord Bathurst, born Nov. 16, 1684; created a Peer Dec. 31, 1711; died Sept. 14, 1775, aged 91: Father of the Lord Chancellor Bathurst.

9 William Pitt, born Nov. 15, 1708; first sate in the House of Commons Feb. 1735; created Earl Chatham July 30, 1766; died May 11, 1778.

9 George Bubb Dodington, born 1691; created Lord Melcombe April 3, 1761; died July 28, 1762, and the title became extinct.

30 Sir John Hinde Cotton died Feb. 4, 1752, in the 64th year of his age.

30 Sir John Barnard, born at Reading, 1685; first sate in Parliament 1722; received the honour of Knighthood 1732; served the office of Lord Mayor of London 1737; died at Clapham 1764.

59 Major Washington, born in Virginia 1732; served as a Colonel in the British service in 1755; in June, 1775, he was appointed Commander in Chief of the American army in opposition to the British Government; died Dec. 14, 1799.

64 Henry Bilson Legge, second son of William Earl Dartmouth; made Chancellor of the Exchequer April 6, 1754; resigned Nov. 22, 1754; reappointed Nov. 15, 1756; resigned April 9, 1757; reappointed July 2, 1757: died August 21, 1764.

"He

" He was designed, in his younger years, for the service of his country, in the Royal Navy, but that service being at that time inactive, he quitted it after one or two voyages, and becoming known to Sir Robert Walpole, was received into the family and confidence of that Minister; and after having filled the station of his Secretary for some years, he obtained a seat in Parliament, and passed through the several offices of Secretary to the Treasurer; Secretary to the Duke of Devonshire as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; one of the Commissioners of the Admiralty; Envoy Extraordinary to the Court of Berlin; Treasurer of the Navy; Chancellor and Under-Treasurer of the Exchequer, and one of the Commissioners of the Treasury, and he continued, to the last, one of his Majesty's Privy Council.

" Mr. Legge, with a penetrating apprehension, and a memory remarkably tenacious of substantial knowledge, had a judgment so clear and sound that it seems hardly possible for any human mind to be more accurate, unembarrassed, and comprehensive of all the ideas that related to the subject before him, as well as of all the consequences which followed from comparing them."—*Dr. Butler, Bishop of Hereford.*

60 Charles Townshend, first sate in Parliament 1747; died Sept. 4, 1767, aged 42: Brother to George Townshend.

69 George Townshend, born Feb. 28, 1724; succeeded to his father's title March 12, 1764; created Earl of Leicester May 18, 1784, and Marquis Townshend Oct. 27, 1787; died Sept. 14, 1807: father to the late Marquis.

65 Henry Fox, born 1705, first sate in the House of Commons 1735; created Lord Holland April 16, 1763; died July 1, 1774: Grandfather to the present Lord Holland.

77 John Byng, fourth son of George Byng first Viscount Torrington:

Torrington: made a Post Captain Aug. 8, 1727; made Rear Admiral of the Blue Aug. 9, 1745: Shot by sentence of Court Martial, March 14, 1757.

79 The Marquis d'Abreu was Envoy Extraordinary from the King of Spain to the British Court, till May 27, 1760, when His Excellency the Count de Fuentes succeeded him as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary.

79 Admiral Hawke made a Post Captain March 20, 1733; made Rear Admiral of the White Flag July 15, 1747. Created a Peer May 20, 1776; died Oct. 17, 1781: Grandfather to the present Lord Hawke.

81 Sir William Murray, born 1705; created Earl Mansfield Oct. 19, 1776; died March 20, 1793, aged 88.

84 William, the fourth Duke of Devonshire, succeeded to his father's title Dec. 5, 1755; died Oct. 2, 1764, in the 44th year of his age.

88 Lord Holdernesse died 1778, when the title became extinct.

96 John, the seventh Earl of Westmoreland, first sate in the House of Commons 1708; succeeded to the Earldom on the death of his brother, June 4, 1736; died Aug. 26, 1762.

George Lord Anson made a Post Captain Feb. 1, 1723; made Rear Admiral of the White Flag April 23, 1745. Created a Peer June 13, 1747; died June 6, 1762.

Harry Paulet, born Nov. 6, 1720; first sate in the House of Commons 1754; made Vice Admiral of the White, Dec. 9, 1760; became Duke of Bolton on his brother's death, July 5, 1765: died Dec. 25, 1794, and the title became extinct.

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Thomas Godolphin 2d Earl of Godolphin
married Henrietta eldest daughter of the great Duke
of Marlborough & Duchess of Marlborough.

She left two daughters -

1 The Lady Henrietta Godolphin married to the
Duke of Newcastle the Minister. She died in
at the age of 75 without issue.

2. The Lady Mary Godolphin who married
Thomas the 4th Duke of Leeds and left one
Son Francis Godolphin Osborne who in 1789
became 5th Duke of Leeds.

He married Amelia D'Arcy the only daughter
and heiress of Robert D'Arcy the last Earl of Holdernesse
and Baronet of Conyers in her own right. and secondly the
Duke married Catherine daughter of Thomas Anguish Esq.
He died January 31. 1799.
By his first wife he had two sons and one daughter.

1st George William Frederick 6th Duke of Leeds.
born July 21. 1775 now living and the present Marquis
of the eldest daughter of the Duke of Marlborough and
the Earl of Godolphin as the Earl of Holdernesse. married in 1797 the Lady Charlotte
2d daughter of the 1st Marquis of Townshend.

2d. the brother Francis Godolphin born in 1777. married
the daughter of the late Lord Auckland.

3d. a Daughter Mary Henrietta Juliana born in 1776 married
in 1801. to Thomas Pelham Earl of Chichester.

By the Second wife
Descended from the D of Marlborough. ~~John~~ from the E of Mal
he has 4 Sydney Godolphin & a daughter married to Captain
Melville of the army.

His eldest son the Marquis of Carmarthen married
Lady Harriet the daughter of Richard Caton &
[illegible] Charles Carroll.

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